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58 e 5

GESTA
REGUM ANGLORUM.

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI

GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM,

ATQUE

HISTORIA NOVELLA.

AD FIDEM
CODICUM MANUSCRIPTORUM
RECENSUIT
THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY.

VOLUMEN II.

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PROLOGUS

IN LIBRUM TERTIUM.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS LIBRI TERTII.

DE Willelmo rege scripserunt, diversis incitati causis, et Normanni et Angli: illi ad nimias efferati sunt laudes, bona malaque juxta in cœlum prædicantes; isti, pro gentilibus inimicitiis, fœdis dominum suum proscidere convitiis. Ego autem, quia utriusque gentis sanguinem traho, dicendi tale temperamentum servabo: bene gesta, quantum cognoscere potui, sine fuco palam [1]efferam; perperam acta, quantum sufficiat scientiæ, [2]leviter et [3]quasi transeunter attingam; ut nec mendax culpetur historia, nec illum nota inuram censoria cujus cuncta pene, etsi non laudari, excusari certe possunt opera. Itaque de illo talia narrabo libenter et morose quæ sint inertibus incitamento, promptis exemplo, usui præsentibus, jocunditati sequentibus. Verum in his protrahendis non multum temporis expendam impendium, quæ nulli emolumentum, imo legenti fastidium, scribenti pariant odium. Satis superque sufficiunt qui genuino molari facta bonorum lacerent. Mihi hæc placet provincia, ut

NOTES AND VARIOUS READINGS.

[1] *Efferam.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; proferam, *C.*

[2] *Leviter.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; leniter, *C.*

[3] *Quasi.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L. M.*; omitted in *E* 1.

mala, quantum queo, sine veritatis dispendio extenuem; bona non [1]nimis ventose collaudem. De qua moderatione, ut æstimo, veri qui erunt arbitri, me nec timidum nec inelegantem pronunciabunt. Hoc itaque non solum de Willelmo, sed et de duobus filiis ejus stylus observabit, ut nihil nimie, nihil nisi vere dicatur: quorum primus parum quod laudetur egit, præter primos regni dies; tota vita damno provincialium comparans favorem militum. Secundus, patri quam fratri morigeratior, invictum animum inter adversa et prospera rexit: cujus si expeditiones attendas, ignores cautior an audacior fuerit; si fortunas aspicias, hæsites beatior, aut boni eventus indigentior, fuerit. Sed de talibus tempus erit [2]cum lector arbitretur. Nunc, tertium volumen incepturus, satis reor egisse ut attentum et docilem facerem; ipse sibi benigne persuadebit ut benevolus sit.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

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[1] *Nimis.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; minus, *D.*

[2] *Cum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; ut, *S.*

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM

LIBER TERTIUS.

INCIPIT LIBER TERTIUS DE ADVENTU NORMANNORUM IN ANGLIAM.

ROBERTUS,[1] alter filius Ricardi secundi, postquam septem annis gloriose ducatum Normanniæ tenuit, Ierosolymam pergere mentem appulit. Habebat tunc filium septennem, ex concubina susceptum, cujus speciem in choreis saltitantis forte conspicatus, non abstinuit quin sibi nocte conjungeret; deinceps unice dilexit, et aliquandiu justæ uxoris loco habuit. Puer ex ea editus, Willelmus a nomine abavi dictus: cujus magnitudinem futuram matris somnium portendebat, quo intestina sua per totam Normanniam et Angliam extendi et dilatari viderat; ipso quoque momento quo, partu laxato, in vitam effusus pusio humum attigit, ambas manus junco, quo pavimenti pulvis cavebatur, implevit, stricte quod corripuerat compugnans. Ostensum visum mulierculis, læto plausu gannientibus; obstetrix quoque fausto omine acclamat puerum regem futurum.

William duke of Normandy.

His birth, A.D. 1028.

NOTES AND VARIOUS READINGS.

[1] *Robertus, alter filius Ricardi secundi.*] Robert I. (See notes [4] and [6], p. 294.

A.D. 1035. The Normans swear fealty to him.

§ 230. Paratis ergo omnibus quæ [1] Ierosolymitani itineris viaticum informarent, apud Fiscannum concilium proceribus indicitur. Ibi, jubente patre, in nomen et fidem Willelmi ab omnibus juratur: [2] Gislebertus comes tutor pupilli constituitur; tutela tutoris [3] regi Francorum Henrico assignatur. Roberto cœptam viam expediente, Normanni omnes communi umbone patriam per sua quisque munimenta tutari, parvum herum ex amore venerari. Stetit hæc fides usque ad famam obitus ejus; qua ubique gentium disseminata, cum fato mutatus amor: mox quisque sua munire oppida, turres agere, frumenta comportare, causas aucupari quibus quamprimum a puero dissidium meditarentur. Inter hæc ille, haud equidem reor sine Dei auxilio qui eum tanto principaturum præviderat imperio, tutus adolescebat; cum solus pene Gislebertus æquum et bonum armis defensitaret suis. Cæteri studiis partium agebantur. Jam vero [4] interfecto Gisleberto a Radulpho patruele suo, ubique cædes, ubique ignes versabantur. Clarissima olim pa-

They rebel against him.

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[1] *Ierosolymitani itineris.*] Robert's expedition to Jerusalem was in 1035. (Bouq. XI. 420.)

[2] *Gislebertus comes tutor pupilli constituitur.*] Ordericus Vitalis writes, 'Ducatum vero suum Guillelmo, octo annorum puero, non rediturus reliquit; ipsumque Alano consanguineo suo, Britonum comiti, commendavit.' And again: 'Rebellaverunt proceres Normanniæ contra Guillelmum infantem; qui, dum pater ejus cum Drogone comite iter iniit Hierosolymitanum, octo solummodo erat annorum, et a patre commissus tutelæ Alani consanguinei sui, comitis Britonum.'

[3] *Regi Francorum Henrico.*] Henry I.

[4] *Interfecto Gisleberto a Radulpho patruele suo.*] 'Gislebertus comes Ocensis, filius Godefridi comitis, callidus et fortis tutor Willelmi pueri, sed domini, quodam mane dum equitans loqueretur cum compatre suo Wascelino de Ponte Erchenfredi, nil mali suspicans, occiditur cum Fulcoïo filio Geroii. Hoc vero malum dolosis hortatibus Rodulphi de Waceïo filii Roberti archiepiscopi factum est, per manus crudeles Odonis Grossi et audacis Roberti filii Geroii.' (Will. Gemet. Histor. lib. VII. c. 2.)

tria, intestinis dissensionibus exulcerata, pro latronum libito dividebatur, ut merito posset querimoniam facere, '[1]Væ terræ cujus rex puer est!' At ille, ubi primum per ætatem potuit, militiæ insignia a rege Francorum accipiens, provinciales in spem quietis erexit. Sator discordiarum erat [2]Guido quidam, Burgundus a patre, nepos Ricardi secundi e filia; infantiam cum Willelmo cucurrerat, tunc quoque januas adolescentiæ pariter urgebant. Convictus familiaritatem, familiaritas [3]amicitias paraverat. Huc accedebat quod ei Brionium et Vernonium castella dederat, nihil pro [4]consanguinitate negandum putans. Horum Burgundus immemor, affictis criminibus quibus id merito facere videretur, abalienavit se a comite. Longum est et non necessarium si persequar quæ hinc inde acta, quæ castella capta: repererat enim perfidia socios Nigellum vicecomitem Constantini, Rannulfum vicecomitem [5]Baiocensem, [6]Haimonem dentatum, avum Roberti qui nostro tempore in Anglia multarum possessionum incubator extitit. Cum his per totam Normanniam grassabatur prædo improbissimus, inani spe ad comitatum illectus. Necessitas regem tutorem excivit ut desperatis partibus pupilli succurreret. Itaque paternæ benevolentiæ recordatus, quod eum favore suo in regnum sublimaverat, apud [7]Walesdunas in de- A.D. 1047.

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[1] *Væ terræ cujus rex puer est!*] Ecclesiastes x. 16.

[2] *Guido quidam, Burgundus a patre.*] Guy was the son of Renaud I, earl of Burgundy, by his wife Alix (called also Judith), daughter of Richard II, duke of Normandy.

[3] *Amicitias.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; amicitiam, *S.*

[4] *Consanguinitate.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; sanguinitate, *S.*

[5] *Baiocensem.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Tembaiocensem, *S.*

[6] *Haimonem dentatum.*] He was lord of Torigni in Normandy, and probably ancestor of the family of Duredent, or Duerden, settled in England.

[7] *Walesdunas.*] 'Locus iste, qui nunc ignotus videtur, differabat a Valle-Duni, loco in Ca-

fectores irruit: cæsa illic multa eorum millia; multi [1] fluminis Olnæ rapacitate intercepti, quod, in arcto locati, equos ad transvadandos vortices instimularent. Guido, vix elapsus, Brionio se recepit: inde per Willelmum expulsus, non ferens probri famam, ultro Burgundiam, nativum scilicet solum, contendit. Nec ibi inquietus animus quietem invenit: nam a comite illius provinciæ, fratre suo [2] Willelmo, quem insidiis impetiverat, fugatus, incompertum quem finem habuit. Nigellus et Radulfus in fidem recepti: Haimo in acie cæsus, cujus insignis violentia laudatur quod ipsum regem equo dejecerit; qua re a concurrentibus stipatoribus interemtus, pro fortitudinis miraculo regis jussu tumulatus est egregie. Tulit hujus gratiæ stipendium rex Henricus a Normanno domino contra Gaufredum Martellum apud Molendinum Herle, quod castrum in Andegavensi regione est, summa vi adjutus; nam jam in virile robur excreverat, majoribus natu et pluribus solus metuendus, solus caput discriminibus inferre, solus [3] vel cum paucis in confertissimos diversæ partis insilire: quapropter ab illa expeditione laudatæ fortitudinis specimen, et amicitiarum apud regem culmen, retulit; adeo ut, quasi paterno consilio, sæpe admoneret ne ad pericula promptus vitam suam despiceret, quæ esset Francis decori, Normanniæ tutamento, utrisque exemplo.

Account of Geoffrey Martel.

§ 231. Eo tempore erat comes Andegavorum

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letis diœcesique Rotomagensi, posito ad Talam vel Dunum fl. vulgo *Le Val-Dun*. Situs enim erat ad fl. Olinam in comitatu pagove Oximensi, et in diœcesi Saiensi.' (Bouq. XI. 178, note.) The battle of Val-des-Dunes is fixed in the year 1047.

[1] *Fluminis Olnæ.*] The river Orne.

[2] *Willelmo.*] William I, duke of Burgundy, called 'Le Grand.'

[3] *Vel.*] *A. S. C. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *D. E* 1.

[1]Gaufredus cognomento Martellus, quod ipse sibi [2]usurpaverat quia videbatur sibi felicitate quadam omnes obsistentes contundere. Denique [3]domi- A.D. 1034.
num suum, comitem Pictavensem, [4]aperto marte cepit, ferreisque vinculis innodatum ad ignobiles pacis conditiones adduxit; Burdegala et confinibus urbibus cederet, de cæteris annuum vectigal pensitaret: [5]sed ille, ut creditur, pro ferri injuria et ciborum inedia, beneficio opportunæ mortis post triduum perpetuæ ignominiæ exemptus est. Tum Martellus, ne quid deesset impudentiæ, novercam defuncti matrimonio sibi copulavit, fratres in tutelam recipiens quoad possent principatui regendo sufficere. Mox [6]Teodbaldi A.D. 1044.
Blesiensis comitis ingressus limites, urbem Turonicam obsedit: ipsum, civibus suis auxilium ferre volentem, consortio ærumnæ implicuit; siquidem captus [7]Teodbaldus, et in ergastulo reclusus, urbem sibi omnibusque suis hæredibus in posterum

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[1] *Gaufredus cognomento Martellus.*] Geoffrey II, son of Foulques III, earl of Anjou, whom he succeeded, A.D. 1040.

[2] *Usurpaverat.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; nomen usurpaverat, *D.*

[3] *Dominum suum, comitem Pictavensem.*] William IV. earl of Poitiers, 1029—1038.

[4] *Aperto marte cepit.*] 'Anno M.XXXIII. Gaufredus Martellus cepit Willelmum comitem Pictavensem, cujus uxorem [? *novercam*] Agnetem ante duxerat.' (Ex Chron. S. Michaelis in Periculo Maris; apud Labbeum, tom. I. Novæ Biblioth. Libr. MSS. p. 350.) The Chronicle of S. Aubin d'Angers likewise assigns this event to the year 1033; but the year 1034 would seem to be the more correct date. (L'Art de vérif. les Dates, II. p. 355.)

[5] *Sed ille . . . exemptus est.*] The earl of Poitiers, having endured a captivity of about three years and a half, was redeemed by his wife Eustachie; but he survived his deliverance only three days. The authors of L'Art de vérif. les Dates quote for the latter statement Malmesbury, whom they cite under the name of the Continuator of Beda.

[6] *Teodbaldi Blesiensis . . . obsedit.*] 'Anno MXLIV. cepit Gaufredus Martellus comitem Theobaldum Turonensem, et extorsit ab eo urbem Turonicam. (Ex Chron. S. Mich. in Peric. Mar.) See also Chron. Andegav. apud Labbeum, tom. I. Nov. Bibl. Libr. MSS. p. 257.

[7] *Teodbaldus.*] *C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. L.*

abjuravit. Pudendam miseriam hominis quis dixerit? ut, pro ambitione quantulæcunque vitæ, tantæ urbis dominio successores suos perpetuo fraudaret; licet severiores plerumque aliorum arbitri simus, quam ipsi nobis consulere noverimus si forte in talibus deprehensi fuerimus. Ita Martellus, tantarum virium augmento turgidus, etiam Normannum comitem [1]Alentii castelli possessione vellicavit, pronis in perfidiam habitatoribus. Qua is irritatus injuria, par pari retulit; et [2]Danfruntum, quod erat tunc comitis Andegavorum, obsidione coronavit: nec mora, obsessorum querelis commonitus Gaufredus, non segnis advolat innumero stipatus milite. Nuncio advenientis accepto, Willelmus [3]Rogerium de Monte Gomerico, et [4]Willelmum filium Osberni, exploratum mittit: illi, pro alacritate juventæ, brevi multa milliaria progressi, equitantemque Martellum conspicati, certiorem de domini sui audacia faciunt. Ille contra fremere, immania minari, [5]postridie se illuc venturum, ostensurum mundo quam præstet in armis Andegavensis Normanno; simul, eximia arrogantia, colorem equi sui, et armorum insignia, quæ habiturus sit, insinuat. At explo-

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[1] *Alentii.*] Alençon.

[2] *Danfruntum.*] Domfront. See note [c], Bouq. XI. p. 178.

[3] *Rogerium de Monte Gomerico.*] He was the son of Hugh de Montgomery and Jocelina his wife, daughter of Turolf of Pont-Audomare, by Weva, sister to Gunnora, great-grandmother to the Conqueror. He led the centre of the army at the battle of Hastings, and was afterwards governor of Normandy. William the Conqueror gave him the earldoms of Arundel and Shrewsbury. See more of him in Sir Henry Ellis's Introduction to Domesday, vol. I. p. 479.

[4] *Willelmum filium Osberni.*] William Fitz-Osbern de Crepon, dapifer of Normandy: he was related to the Conqueror, by whom, after the Conquest, he was created earl of Hereford. In the Domesday Book this nobleman is described as 'Comes Willelmus.' The particulars of his death, which happened abroad in the year 1071, are related by Ordericus Vitalis, p. 536, and by Malmesbury, § 256.

[5] *Postridie.*] *S. C. E. L.*; post triduum, *A. D.*

ratores, non minori fastu eadem de Willelmo denunciantes, regrediuntur, et suos in certamen accendunt. Hæc ideo seriatim retuli, ut Martelli tumor legentibus elucesceret. Cæterum, nihil tunc de solita magnanimitate ausus, antequam in manus veniretur terga ostendit. Quo audito, Alentini se dedidere, pacti membrorum salutem: post etiam Danfruntini feliciora signa secuti.

William comte d'Arques rebels.

§ 232. Posterioribus annis rebellavit [1] Willelmus comes de Archis, patruus ejus sed nothus, a primis auspiciis ducatus infidus et versipellis; nam et in obsidione Danfronti clam profugerat, et multis sæpe animi sui latebras aperuerat. Quapropter Willelmus quibusdam, quos fideles falso arbitrabatur, firmitatem castelli commiserat; verum ille astu quo callebat, multa largiendo, plura pollicendo, in suas partes eosdem traduxit. Munitione igitur potitus, bellum domino suo denunciavit. Ille solito more alacerrime Archas obsedit, dissuadentibus amicis; palam professus, nihil latrones ausuros si in conspectum ejus venissent. Nec promissio fide caruit; namque plusquam trecenti milites, qui pabulatum et populatum processerant, eo pene solo conspecto, intra munitiones refugere. Dux sine sanguine rem peragere volens, obfirmato contra Archas castello, ad alia quæ magis urgebant bella conversus est: simul quia sciebat regem Francorum, jam pridem, nescio qua simultate, sibi infensum, ad opem obsesso ferendam adventare; namque prædicandi moderaminis consilio,

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[1] *Willelmus comes de Archis.*] William, comte d'Arques, was son of Richard II. duke of Normandy, by his third wife, Papia. Compare William of Jumiéges, l. VII. c. 20, as to the rebellion mentioned by Malmesbury.

quamvis justiorem causam habere videretur, [1]cum eo decernere ferro cavebat, cui et pro sacramento et pro suffragio obnoxius erat. Reliquit tamen primates aliquos qui impetum regium tardarent; quorum astutia insidiis exceptus, Isembardum Pontivi comitem coram se obtruncari, Hugonem Pardulfum capi, merito ingemuit. Nec multo post, eo dulcem Franciam, quia res male cesserat, repetente, comes Arcensis, fame tabidus et vix ossibus hærens, deditioni consensit, ad exemplum clementiæ, ad indicium industriæ, vitæ et membris reservatus. Hujusce obsidionis intervallo populus castri quod Molendinis dicitur, exolescens, ad partes regis incentore quodam Galterio transiit. Imponitur ibi non segnis militum manus, præfecto Guidone fratre comitis Pictavensis. Is aliquantis diebus sedulo militiæ munia executus est; verum crebrescente fama Arcensis victoriæ, Franciam elapsus, non leve incrementum accessit ducalis gloriæ.

The battle of Mortemer, A.D. 1054.

§ 233. Nec rex Henricus otio indulsit, quin grunniret exercitus suos ludibrio fuisse Willelmo; coactis itaque omnibus viribus, et copiis bipartitis, totam inundavit Normanniam: ipse de parte [2]Galliæ Celticæ, quæ inter Garumnam et Sequanam fluvios jacet, quicquid militum erat suo ductu trahens; [3]Odonem fratrem populo [4]Gal-

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[1] *Cum eo decernere ferro cavebat.*] Upon these words the editors of the Rec. des Hist. de la France remark, 'Priusquam enim prælium consereret cum Henrico rege, debebat Willelmus homagio et fidei renuntiare: quod quidem fieri poterat ob regium malefactum.'

[2] *Galliæ.*] *C. D. E. L* 1.; Galliciæ, *A. S. L* 2.

[3] *Odonem fratrem.*] See p. 317, note [4].

[4] *Galliæ Belgicæ.*] Pomponius Mela writes, 'A Garumna ad Sequanam Celtas, inde ad Rhenum pertinere Belgas;' but Pliny, 'a Sequana ad Scaldem.' Ptolemy, Orosius, and others, describe the bounds of Belgian Gaul 'a septemtrione oceanum Britannicum, ab oriente flumen Rhenum, vel montes Adulam et Juram, ab euro Alpes Penninas, a meridie partem provinciæ Narbonnensis, ab occasu fluvium Sequanam et Galliam Lugdunensem.'

liæ Belgicæ, quæ est inter Renum et Sequanam, præficiens. Eodem modo Willelmus suos, qua poterat animositate, divisit, juxta regis castra sensim obambulans, quæ jam in Ebroicensi pago metabatur, ut nec cominus [1] pugnandi copiam faceret, nec provinciam coram se vastari sineret. Duces ejus, Robertus comes Aucensis, Hugo Gornacensis, Hugo Montis fortis, Willelmus Crispinus, ad castellum quod [2] Mortuum mare vocatur, infestis signis contra Odonem constitere. Nec ille pro numero militum, quo tumebat, moram pugnæ fecit, sed parumper resistere ausus, mox impetum Normannorum non ferens, terga nudavit, omen fugæ primus auspicatus: ibi dum Guido Pontivi comes studiosius ultioni fratris intendit, captus, fatalem familiæ suæ manum exhorruit; præterea plures alii, præcellentes [3] operibus, turgentes majorum natalibus. Hunc successum, ex [4] advenientibus cognitum, Willelmus circum regis tentoria nocte intempesta præconari curavit; quo audito, post aliquot dies quos in Normannia egit, refugit in Franciam: nec multo post tempore, discurrentibus utrobique nunciis, pacifice conventum ut regii captivi absolverentur, comes erepta vel eripienda Martello jure vendicaret legitimo.

§ 234. Longum est et non necessarium referre quantæ inter eos contentiones versatæ sunt, quomodo Willelmus semper superiorem manum retulerit. Quid quod inæstimabili præsumptione fortitudinis, nunquam subito, nec nisi prænun-

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[1] *Pugnandi.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; pugnando, *E* 1.

[2] *Mortuum mare.*] The famous battle of Mortemer is fixed in the year 1054 by the interpolator of William of Jumiéges.

[3] *Operibus.*] *D. E* 1.; opibus, *S. E* 2. *L* 2.

[4] *Advenientibus.*] *C. D. E.*; adventantibus, *A. S. L.*

ciata die, illum aggredi dignatus, nostri temporis morem animi magnitudine contempserit? Illud quoque prætereo, quod, iterum ruptis amicitiis,
A.D. 1058. [1]rex Henricus Normanniam ingressus, per pagum [2]Oximensem usque ad fluvium Divæ pervenerit, jactitans solum oceanum progressioni suæ esse obstaculum: verum Willelmus, qui se videret propter fidei dissimulationem immoderate premi, tunc tandem consciæ virtutis arma concutiens, regias copias, quæ circa flumen erant, (nam pars paulo ante, ejus adventu audito, transvadaverat,) tanta internicie cecidit, ut nihil postea Francia plus [3]metuerat quam Normannorum ferociam irritare. Terminum discordiarum fecit properata [4]mors Henrici, nec multo post [5]Martelli. Rex moriens Baldewino comiti Flandriæ tutelam admodum parvuli Philippi filii delegavit. Is erat fide et sapientia æque mirandus, præviridantibus membris incanus, præterea regiæ sororis connubio sublimis: filia ejus Matildis Willelmo jamdudum nupserat; fœmina nostro tempore singulare [6]prudentiæ speculum, pudoris culmen. Hinc factum est, ut pupilli et generi mediator tumores ducum et provincialium salubri proposito compesceret.

Genealogy of the earls of Anjou.

§ 235. Sed, quia totiens Martelli se occasio

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[1] *Rex Henricus Normanniam ingressus.*] King Henry entered Normandy for the third time in the year 1058.

[2] *Oximensem.*] *A. D. E.*; Exiomensem, *S. L.*; Eximensem, *C.*

[3] *Metuerat.*] *S. D. E* 1.; metueret, *A. C. L. E* 2.

[4] *Mors Henrici.*] King Henry died on the 4th of August, A.D. 1060.

[5] *Martelli.*] Geoffrey Martel died on the 14th November 1060. 'In eodem porro anno (1060) rex Henricus obiit in nativitate S. Johannis; et meus avunculus Goffridus, tertio die post festivitatem B. Martini, bono fine quievit.' (Ex Historiæ Andegavensis fragmento, auctore Fulcone comite Andegavensi; apud Acherium, Spicilegii, tom. III. p. 233.)

[6] *Prudentiæ.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

ingessit, genealogiam [1]comitum Andegavensium, [2]quam relatoris nostri memoria attigit, transcurram, [3]præfata diverticuli venia. [4]Fulco antiquior, pluribus annis, usque ad senium, illum moderatus comitatum, multa fecit industrie, multa egregie. Unum omnino est quo eum notari audierim, quod Herbertum comitem Cenomanensem, Sanctonas sponsione urbis illectum, in medio colloquio ab apparitoribus arctari, et quibus placuit conditionibus irretiri fecit. [5]Cætera sanctus et integer, extremis fere annis filio sæpe dicto [6]Gaufredo principatu vivens cessit. Ille in provinciales (immane!) quam dure, in ipsum collatorem honoris quam superbe actitans, jussusque magistratum et fasces deponere, adeo sibi arrogavit ut contra patrem arma sumeret. Tunc senis frigidus jam et effætus sanguis ira incaluit, filiumque juveniliter insultantem paucis diebus maturiori consilio adeo infregit, ut, per aliquot milliaria [7]sellam dorso [8]vehens, pronum se cum sarcina ante pedes patris exponeret. Ille, cui vetus animositas adhuc palpitaret, assurgens, et pede jacentem pulsans, 'Victus es, tandem vic-

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[1] *Comitum Andegavensium.*] For an account of the earls of Anjou, consult the Gesta Consulum Andegavensium, auctore Monacho Benedictino Majoris Monasterii. (Apud Acherium, tom. III.)

[2] *Quam.*] *C. E.*; quantum, *A. S. D. L.*

[3] *Præfata diverticuli venia.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[4] *Fulco antiquior.*] Foulques III, called Nerra, or Le Noir, and Le Jerosolymitain, and also Le Palmier. He succeeded his father Geoffrey I. in the year 987.

[5] *Cætera.*] *C. D. E. L.*; cæterum, *A. S.*

[6] *Gaufredo.*] Geoffrey II. surnamed Martel.

[7] *Sellam dorso vehens.*] 'To carry a saddle was a punishment of extreme ignominy for certain crimes. See another instance in William of Jumiéges, Du Chesne, p. 259. Ducange, in voce "Sella," very justly supposes the disgrace to arise from the offender acknowledging himself a brute, and putting himself entirely in the power of the person he had offended.' (Sharpe, 306.)

[8] *Vehens.*] *C. E.*; evehens, *A. S. D. L.*

tus,' ter quaterque ingeminat: superfuit victo spiritus, et quidem egregius, ut responderet, 'Tibi pater soli, quia [1]pater es, victus; cæteris omnibus invictus sum.' Hoc relatu tumentis animus emollitus, patriaque pietate verecundiam prolis consolatus, principatui restituit; monitum ut maturius se ageret, provincialium fortunas et pacem suum esse decus ad extraneos, commodum ad domesticos. Eodem anno veteranus, et secularibus stipendiis emeritus, jam de animæ viatico cogitans, Ierosolymam adiit: ibi a duobus servis, sacramento adactis ut quod juberet facerent, per publicum ad sepulchrum Domini nudus, inspectantibus Turchis, tractus est; alter [2]restem ligneum collo ejus intorserat, alter [3]flagris terga expoliati urgebat. Inter hæc ille clamabat, 'Accipe, Domine, miserum Fulconem, perjurum tuum, fugitivum tuum; confessam dignare animam, Domine Jesu Christe.' Nec tamen quod desiderabat tunc impetravit; sed, domum placide regressus, post aliquot annos [4]obiit. Filii ejus Gaufredi præruptam audaciam superior narratio patefecit. [5]Is moriens [6]Gaufredo, sororis filio, hæreditatem suam contradidit, sed industriam seculi transfundere non potuit: nam ille, simplicium morum juvenis, magis in ecclesiis orare quam arma tractare consuetus, homines regionis illius, qui quiete victitare nescirent, in contemtum sui excitavit; quare, tota terra prædonibus

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[1] *Pater.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; pater meus, *D.*

[2] *Restem.*] *A. S. D. E.*; vectem, *C.*; rastem, *L.*

[3] *Flagris.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; flagellis, *S.*

[4] *Obiit.*] Foulques III. died at Metz on the 21st June 1040.

[5] *Is moriens.*] Geoffrey Martel died without issue by either of his three wives.

[6] *Gaufredo, sororis filio.*] Geoffrey III. called Le Barbu. He was the son of Geoffrey Ferréol comte de Château-Landon, and Ermengarde, daughter of Foulques le Noir.

exposita, Fulco frater illius ultro ducatum corripuit. [1]Fulco, Rechin dictus, quod, germani [2]simplicitati crebro infrendens, ad ultimum honore spoliatum perpetua custodia coercuerit, [3]habuit uxorem quæ, pruritu altioris nominis allecta, illo relicto, Philippo regi Francorum nupsit; quam is, immemor dicti,

'Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur,
Majestas et amor,'

tanta venere ardebat, ut, cum imperare aliis omnibus cuperet, ab ea sibi imperari æquanimiter ferret. Denique omnium digitis quasi fatuus notari, ab omni orbe Christiano excommunicari, propter ejus libidinem, aliquantis annis sustinuit. Filii Fulconis fuerunt Gesfridus et Fulco: Gesfridus, cognomen Martelli hæreditarium sortitus, suis sudoribus ampliavit; tanta pace et quiete per terras illas parta, quantam [4]nemo viderit, nemo visurus sit; quapropter suorum insidiis necatus, egregiæ probitatis decus luit. [5]Fulco, in regimine succedens, adhuc in rebus humanis versatur; de quo forsitan tempore regis Henrici dicturus, nunc de Willelmo explanabo quod restat.

William recovers Maine and Brittany.

§ 236. Ille, ubi civile dissidium multo exercitio composuit, rem majoris gloriæ animo sequens,

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[1] *Fulco, Rechin dictus.*] Foulques IV, also called Le Querelleur.

[2] *Simplicitati.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; supplicitati, *E* 1.

[3] *Habuit uxorem.*] Her name was Bertrade. Foulques married her in the year 1089, during the lives of his second and third wives, whom he repudiated.

[4] *Nemo viderit.*] *A. S. D. L.*; omitted in *C. E.*

[5] *Fulco, in regimine succedens, adhuc in rebus humanis versatur.*] From this passage it is clear that Foulques IV. was still the reigning earl of Anjou, which therefore proves that Malmesbury had finished this work before 1129, in which year Geoffrey le Bel, better known as Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Foulques, became earl of Anjou.

terras olim [1] Normanniæ appendices, quæ longo usu insoleverant, restituere intendit; Cenomanicum dico comitatum et Brittanniam. Quorum Cenomanis, [2] dudum a Martello succensa, et domino suo [3] Hugone privata, tunc nuper aliquantulum sub Herberto Hugonis filio respiraverat: qui, ut tutior contra Andegavensem esset, Willelmo se manibus dederat, in ejus fidelitatem sacramento juratus; præterea filiam ipsius petierat et desponderat, quæ priusquam nubilibus annis matura conjugio fieret, ille morbo decessit. Hæredem sibi Willelmum pronuncians, adjuratis civibus ne alium susciperent: habituri, si vellent, lenem et probum dominum; si nollent, recti sui exactorem immodicum. Quo defuncto, Cenomannenses magis ad Gualterium Medantinum declinantes, cui soror Hugonis nupserat, sero tandem
A.D. 1065. ut Willelmum susciperent resipuere, gravibus sæpe damnis admoniti. Illud fuit tempus quo Haroldus invitus Normanniam, importuna sibi aura, evectus est: quem, [4] sicut supra dictum est, Willelmus in Brittannicam expeditionem duxit, volens ejus manum explorare; simul et strictiori consilio, apparatum ostentans suum, conspicaturo quantum præstaret Anglicis bipennibus ensis Normannicus. Alanus tunc ibi comes, viridis juventa et præcellens robore, Eudonem patruum [5] vinxerat, multa egregie fecerat; Willelmum non solum non timebat, sed et irritabat: at ille Brittanniam ut hæreditarium solum calumnians, quod

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[1] *Normanniæ appendices.*] 'Anno 931, Britones in cornu Galliæ constituti, adversus Normannos, quibus subditi erant, insurgentes, repressi sunt a Willielmo Longa-spata.' (Ex Libello Hugonis Floriac. Monachi.) Bouq. XI. 181, note [a].

[2] *Dudum.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; olim, *C.*

[3] *Hugone.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[4] *Sicut supra dictum est.*] § 228, pp. 383-4.

[5] *Vinxerat.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; vicerat, *S.*

eam Karolus Rolloni cum [1]filia Gisla dederat, brevi effecit ut, ultro Alanus adveniens, suppliciter se suaque dederet. Sed, quia de Brittannia parum alias dicturus sum, hic quoddam miraculum, quod illis ferme diebus in Nannetis civitate contigit, paucis inseram.

DE DUOBUS CLERICIS SOCIIS.

Legend of the two clerks of Nantes.

§ 237. Erant in urbe illa duo clerici, nondum patientibus annis, presbyteri; id officium magis precario quam bonæ vitæ merito ab episcopo loci exegerant: denique alterius miserandus exitus superstitem instruxit quam fuerint antea in inferni lapsum ambo præcipites. Cæterum, quod ad scientiam literarum tendit ita edocti, ut aut parum aut nihil ipsis deberent artibus; a reptantibus infantiæ rudimentis adeo jocundis amicitiæ officiis æmuli, ut, juxta [2]Comici dictum, 'Manibus pedibusque conando, periculum etiam, si necesse esset, capitis pro invicem facerent.' Quare die quadam, liberiorem [3]animum a curis forinsecis nacti, in secreto conclavi hujusmodi sententias fudere: Pluribus se annis nunc literis, nunc seculi [4]lucris, mentes exercuisse, nec satiasse, magis ad distortum quam ad rectum intentas: inter hæc, illum acerbum diem sensim appropinquare qui societatis suæ inextricabile in vita vinculum disrumperet; unde præveniendum mature, ut fides, quæ conglutinarat viventes, primo mortuum comitaretur ad manes. Paciscuntur ergo ut quisquis eorum ante obiret, superstiti, vel dormienti vel vigilanti, appareret infra triginta pro-

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[1] *Filia.*] *C. D. E.*; filia sua, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Comici dictum.*] Terent. Andr. IV. 1.

[3] *Animum.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[4] *Lucris.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; curis, *S.*

culdubio dies: si fiat, edocturus quod, secundum Platonicos, mors spiritum non extinguat, sed ad principium sui Deum tanquam e carcere emittat; sin minus, Epicureorum sectæ concedendum, qui opinantur animam corpore solutam in aerem evanescere, in auras effluere. Ita data acceptaque fide, quotidianis colloquiis sacramentum frequentabant. Nec multum in medio, et ecce, mors repentine imminens indignantem halitum uni eorum violenter extraxit. Remansit alter, et serio de socii sponsione cogitans, et jam jamque affuturum præstolans cassa opinione triginta diebus ventos pavit; quibus elapsis, cum desperans aliis negotiis avocasset otium, astitit subito vigilanti, et quiddam operis molienti, vultu, qualis solet esse morientium anima fugiente, exanguis. Tum tacentem vivum prior mortuus compellans, 'Agnoscis me?' inquit: 'Agnosco,' respondit; 'et non tantum de insolita tua turbor præsentia, quantum de diuturna miror absentia.' At ille, ubi tarditatem adventus excusavit, tandem ait, 'Tandem, expeditis morarum nexibus, venio: sed adventus iste tibi, si voles, (amice,) erit commodus, mihi omnino infructuosus; quippe qui, pronunciata et acclamata sententia, sempiternis sim deputatus suppliciis.' Cumque vivus, ad ereptionem mortui, omnia sua monasteriis et egenis expensurum, seque dies et noctes jejuniis et orationibus continuaturum, promitteret; 'Fixum est,' inquit, 'quod dixi, quia sine pœnitentia sunt judicia Dei, quibus in sulphuream voraginem inferni demersus sum: ibi dum rotat astra polus, dum pulsat littora pontus, pro criminibus meis volvar; inflexibilis sententiæ manet [1]rigor, æterna et innumera pœnarum genera commi-

[1] *Rigor.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; rigor æternus, *S.*

niscens, totus modo mundus valitura remedia exquirat. Et ut aliquam experiaris ex meis innumerabilibus pœnis,' protendit manum sanioso ulcere stillantem, et 'en,' ait, 'unam ex minimis, videturne tibi levis?' Cum levem sibi videri referret, ille, curvatis in volam digitis, tres guttas defluentis tabi super eum jaculatus est; quarum duæ tempora, una frontem contingentes, cutem et carnem sicut ignito cauterio penetrarunt, foramen nucis capax efficientes. Illo magnitudinem doloris clamore testante, 'Hoc,' inquit mortuus, 'erit [1] in te quantum vixeris, et pœnarum mearum grave documentum, et, nisi neglexeris, salutis tuæ singulare monimentum. Quapropter dum licet, dum nutat ira, dum pendula [2] Deus operitur clementia, muta habitum, muta animum, Redonis monachus effectus apud sanctum Melanium.' Ad hæc verba vivo respondere nolente, alter eum oculi vigore perstringens, 'Si dubitas' (inquit) 'converti, miser, lege literas istas;' et simul cum dicto manum expandit tetricis notis inscriptam, in quibus Sathanas et omne inferorum satellitium gratias omni ecclesiastico cœtui de Tartaro emittebant, quod cum ipsi in nullo suis voluptatibus deessent, tum tantum numerum subditarum animarum paterentur ad inferna descendere prædicationis incuria, quantum nunquam retroacta viderunt secula. His dictis loquentis aspectus disparuit; et audiens, omnibus suis per ecclesias et egenos distributis, sanctum Melanium adiit, omnes audientes et videntes de subita [3] conversione admonens ut dicerent 'Hæc est mutatio dextræ Excelsi.'

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[1] *In te.*] *E* 1.; tibi, *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*

[2] *Deus operitur.*] *C. E.*; Deus te operitur, *A. D. L.*; Dei te operitur, *S.*

[3] *Conversione.*] *C. D. E.*; conversione et illustri conversatione, *A. S. L.*

A.D. 1066. William asserts his claim to the English throne.

§ 238. Ista pro utilitate legentium me inseruisse non piguit; nunc de Willelmo loquar. Nam quia breviter, nec ut puto inutiliter, res ejus, quas duntaxat comes in Normannia annis triginta actitavit, percurri; modo aliud narrandi exordium ordo temporum flagitat, ut de regno ejus, quantum nostra sciscitatio penetrare potuit, mendacium arguam, veritatem pronunciem. Rex Edwardus fato functus fuerat: Anglia dubio favore nutabat, cui se rectori committeret incerta, an Haroldo, an Willelmo, an Edgaro; nam et illum, pro genere proximum regno, proceribus rex commendaverat, tacito scilicet mentis judicio, sed prono in clementiam animo. Quare, ut prædixi, Angli diversis votis ferebantur, quamvis palam cuncti bona Haroldo imprecarentur: et ille quidem, diademate fastigiatus, nihil de pactis inter se et Willelmum cogitabat; liberatum se sacramento asserens, quod filia ejus quam desponderat citra nubiles annos obierat. Fertur enim vir ille, non paucis virtutibus præditus, parum adversus perfidiam sibi consuluisse dummodo posset quibuscunque præstigiis hominum ratiocinationes suspendere: præterea, qui putaret minas Willelmi nunquam ad factum erupturas, quod ille conterminorum ducum bellis implicaretur, totum animum otio cum subjectis indulserat; nam profecto, nisi quod Noricorum regem adventare didicit, nec militem convocare nec aciem dirigere dignatus fuisset. Alter interea illum per nuncios leniter convenire, de rupto fœdere expostulare, precibus minas insuere; sciret se ante annum emensum ferro debitum vindicaturum, illuc iturum quo Haroldus tutiores se pedes habere putaret. Contra, ille, [1] quæ dixi

[1] *Quæ dixi.*] See § 228, p. 384.

de puellæ nuptiis referens, de regno addidit, præsumptuosum fuisse quod, [1]absque generali senatus et populi conventu et edicto, alienam illi hæreditatem juraverit; proinde stultum sacramentum frangendum. Nam si jusjurandum vel votum quod puella in domo patris, nesciis parentibus, de suo corpore volens fecerit, judicatur irritum; quanto magis quod ille, sub regis virga constitutus, nesciente omni Anglia, de toto regno, necessitate temporis coactus, impegerit, [2]videatur non esse ratum: præterea iniquum postulat ut imperio decedat, quod tanto favore civium regendum susceperit; hoc nec provincialibus gratum, nec militibus tutum. Ita revertebantur inanes nuncii, vel veris vel verisimilibus argumentis præstricti. Sed comes toto illo anno bello necessaria expediebat, largis sumptibus milites suos continebat, alienos invitabat: ordines aciesque ita instituebat, ut milites proceri corpore, præcellentes robore essent; duces et antesignani, præter scientiam rei militaris, etiam consilii et ætatis maturitate pollerent; ut si singulos vel in acie vel alibi cerneres, non proceres sed reges putares. Ita episcopi et abbates illius temporis religione, ita [3]optimates magnanima liberalitate certabant, ut mirum sit quod, [4]paucissimis annis

A.D. 1066.

His preparations for an invasion.

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[1] *Absque generali senatus et populi conventu et edicto . . . nesciente omni Anglia.*] These words seem to imply that the Great Council of the kingdom had never agreed to any settlement of the crown on the duke; and without such sanction no oath made by Harold in favour of William would have been binding.

[2] *Videatur.*] *S. D. E. L.*; judicatur, *A. C.*

[3] *Optimates.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; primates, *C.*

[4] *Paucissimis annis... deprimere parati.*] *C. E. F. K.*; nondum sexaginta annis evolutis, utraque turba abortivum bonitatis effecti, jurata bella contra justitiam susciperent: illi, pro ambitione sacrorum, magis distortum quam æquum et bonum amplectentes; isti rejecto pudore, undecumque captatis occasionibus, compendia pecuniarum velut quotidianam

A.D. 1066. evolutis, pleraque et pene omnia in utrisque ordinibus mutata videas: illi in quibusdam hebetiores, sed largiores; isti in omnibus prudentiores, sed tenaciores; utrique tamen in defensanda patria manu validi, consilio providi, fortunas suas evehere, inimicorum deprimere parati. Verum tunc Willelmi industria cum prudentia Dei consentiens, jam spe Angliam invadebat; et, ne justam causam temeritas decoloraret, ad apostolicum, qui ex Anselmo Lucensi episcopo [1]Alexander dicebatur, misit, justitiam suscepti belli quantis poterat facundiæ nervis allegans. Haroldus id facere supersedit; vel quod turgidus natura esset, vel quod causæ diffideret, vel quod nuncios suos a Willelmo et ejus complicibus, qui omnes portus obsidebant, impediri timeret. Quare, perpensis apud se utrinque partibus, papa vexillum in omen regni Willelmo contradidit; quo ille accepto, conventum [2]magnatum apud Lillebona fecit, super negotio singulorum sententias sciscitatus. Cumque omnes, ejus voluntatem plausibus excipientes, magnificis promissis [3]animasset, commeatum navium omnibus, pro quantitate possessionum, indixit. Ita tunc discessum, et mense Augusto ad sanctum Walericum in commune ventum: portus [4]ita [5]per

stipem emendicantes, *A. S. G. H. L.*; *D. M.* contain both passages, omitting the words 'paucissimis annis,' after 'stipem emendicantes.'—The expression *nondum sexaginta annis elapsis* in the above passage enables us to approximate to the date of the first completion of the 'Gesta Regum;' but it would seem that a less definite expression, as appears by the text, was adopted, —probably when the author revised his work at some later period.

[1] *Alexander.*] Alexander II. He was crowned pope on the 30th September 1061, and died 21st April 1073.

[2] *Magnatum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; magnum, *S.*

[3] *Animasset.*] *S.*; animassent, *A. C. D. E. L.*

[4] *Ita.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; ille, *C.*

[5] *Per metonymiam dicitur.*] There are two places called St. Valeri: one in Picardy, situate at the mouth of the Somme, and formerly called Leugonaus; the other is a large seaport town

metonymiam dicitur. Congregatis undecunque navibus, felix exspectabatur aura quæ illas ad destinatum [1]locum eveheret. Qua multis diebus remorante, vulgus militum, ut fieri solet, per tabernacula mussitabat: insanire hominem qui vellet alienum solum in jus suum refundere; Deum contra tendere, qui ventum arceret; idem patrem voluisse, eodemque modo inhibitum; fatale illi familiæ esse, ut, altiora viribus spirans, Deum adversantem experiatur. Ista per publicum serebantur, quæ possent fortium robur enervare. Dux itaque, facto cum senioribus concilio, corpus sancti Walerici foras efferri, et, pro vento deprecando, sub divo exponi jussit; nec mora intercessit quin prosper flatus carbasa impleret. Tunc lætus clamor exortus omnes ad naves invitavit: comes ipse, a continenti primus [2]ad altum provectus, cæteros in medio fere mari anchoris jactis sustinuit. Omnibus itaque ad prætoriæ puppis vermiculatum velum convolantibus, post cibum sumptum placido cursu Hastingas appulerunt. In egressu navis pede lapsus, eventum in melius commutavit, acclamante sibi proximo milite, '[3]Tenes,' inquit, 'Angliam, comes, rex futurus!' Omnem exercitum a præda continuit,

A.D. 1066.

Lands at Hastings, Sept. 28.

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situate in Normandy, in the diocess of Rouen, and was formerly called S. Valeri les Plains, but now S. Valeri en Caux. It seems to be the former place to which Malmesbury here refers. 'In Pontivo apud S. Walericum in anchoris congrue stare fecit,' writes William of Jumiéges.

[1] *Locum.*] *D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. C. L.*

[2] *Ad.*] *C. D. E.*; in, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Tenes ... Angliam.*] 'This was said in allusion to the feudal investiture, or formal act of taking possession of an estate by the delivery of certain symbols.' (Sharpe, 315.) This story, however, is rendered a little suspicious by these words being in exact conformity with those of Cæsar when he stumbled and fell at his landing in Africa, *Teneo te, Africa.* The silence of William of Poictou, who was the duke's chaplain, and with him at his landing, makes the truth of it still more doubtful.

A.D. 1066. parcendum rebus [1]quæ suæ forent prælocutus; continuisque quindecim diebus adeo se quiete agens, ut nihil minus quam bellum cogitare videretur.

Harold marches against William.

§ 239. Interea Haroldus de pugna Noricorum revertebatur, sua æstimatione felix quod vicerat; meo judicio contra, quod parricidio victoriam compararat: allatoque ad se nuncio adventus Normannici, sicut erat cruentus in armis, paucissimo stipatus milite Hastingas protendit. Præcipitabant eum nimirum fata, ut nec auxilia convocare vellet, nec, si vellet, multos parituros inveniret; ita, [2]ut ante dixi, omnes illi erant infensi, quod solus manubiis borealibus incubuerat.

Sends spies into the Norman camp.

Præmisit tamen qui numerum hostium et vires specularentur; quos intra castra deprehensos Willelmus circum tentoria duci, moxque, largis eduliis pastos, domino incolumes remitti jubet. Redeuntes percunctatur Haroldus quid rerum apportent: illi, verbis amplissimis ductoris magnificam confidentiam prosecuti, serio addiderunt, pene omnes in exercitu illo presbyteros videri, quod totam faciem cum utroque labio rasam

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[1] *Quæ suæ forent.*] Whatever may have been the Conqueror's orders to restrain his army from plundering, it is conclusive from the Domesday Survey that they were of no avail. The whole of the country in the neighbourhood of Hastings appears to have been laid waste. Sir Henry Ellis, in the last edition of his General Introduction to Domesday, observes that the destruction occasioned by the Conqueror's army on its first arrival is apparent more particularly under Hollington, Bexhill, &c. The value of each manor is given as it stood in the reign of the Confessor; afterwards it is said, 'vastatum fuit;' and then follows the value at the time of the survey. The situation of those manors evidently shows their devastated state to have been owing to the army marching over it; and this clearly evinces another circumstance relating to the invasion, which is, that William did not land his army at one particular spot,—at Bulverhithe, or Hastings, as is supposed,—but at all the several proper places for landing along the coast from Bexhill to Winchelsea.

[2] *Ut ante dixi.*] See § 228, p. 387.

haberent; Angli enim superius labrum pilis incessanter fructicantibus intonsum dimittunt, quod etiam gentilitium antiquis Britonibus fuisse Julius Cæsar asseverat [1] in libro Belli Gallici. Subrisit rex fatuitatem referentium, lepido insecutus cachinno, quia non essent presbyteri, sed milites armis validi, animis invicti. Rapuit ergo ex ore ipsius sermonem [2] Gurtha frater, plus puero adultus, et magnæ ultra ætatem virtutis et scientiæ. 'Cum' (inquit) 'tantam fortitudinem Normanni prædices, indeliberatum æstimo cum illo confligere, [3] quo inferior robore et merito habearis. Nec enim ibis in inficias quin illi sacramentum vel invitus vel voluntarius feceris; proinde consultius ages si, instanti necessitati te subtrahens, nostro periculo colludium pugnæ tentaveris: nos, omni juramento expediti, juste ferrum pro patria stringemus. Timendum ne, si ipse decernas, vel fugam vel mortem oppetas: sed, nobis solis præliantibus, causa tua utrobique in portu navigabit; quia et fugientes restituere, et mortuos ulcisci, poteris.'

A D. 1066.

Guerth's advice to Harold.

§ 240. Noluit effrænata temeritas aurem placidam monenti commodare, existimans inglorium et anteactæ vitæ opprobrium cuicunque discrimini terga nudare: eademque impudentia, vel, indulgentius dicam, imprudentia, monachum, Willelmi legatum, nec bono vultu dignatus turbide abegit; hoc tantum imprecans, ut Deus inter eum et Willelmum judicaret. Afferebat ille tria:

William's propositions to Harold.

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[1] *In libro Belli Gallici.*] 'Capilloque sunt promisso, atque omni parte corporis rasa, præter caput et labrum superius.' (Lib. v. c. 14. Caii Julii Cæsaris de Bello Gallico; ed. Oudendorpii, Lugd. Batav. 1737.)

[2] *Gurtha frater.*] Guerth, the brother of Harold, was undoubtedly slain at the battle of Hastings; but in the Harleian MS. 3776, fol. 21 b. there is a legend that Guerth escaped alive, and was seen in extreme age by King Henry the Second.

[3] *Quo.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; qui, *C.*

A.D. 1066. ut vel regno secundum conditiones descenderet; vel sub eo regnaturus teneret; vel certe, spectante utroque exercitu, gladio rem ventilarent. Calumniabatur enim Willelmus regnum, quod rex illi Edwardus concesserat, [1]consilio Stigandi archiepiscopi, et Godwini et Siwardi comitum; ejusque doni obsides filium et nepotem Godwini Normanniam miserat. Si id negare velit Haroldus, judicio se sedis apostolicæ vel prælio acturum: quibus omnibus solo, quod dixi, nuncius frustratus responso, discessit, suisque ad dimicandum vivaciores animos dedit.

Battle of Hastings, Oct. 14. § 241. Itaque utrinque animosi duces disponunt acies, patrio quisque ritu: Angli, ut accepimus, totam noctem insomnem cantibus potibusque ducentes, mane incunctanter in hostem procedunt: pedites omnes cum bipennibus, conserta ante se scutorum testudine, impenetrabilem cuneum faciunt; quod profecto illis [2]ea die saluti fuisset, nisi Normanni simulata fuga more suo confertos manipulos laxassent. Rex ipse pedes

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[1] *Consilio Stigandi archiepiscopi, et Godwini et Siwardi comitum.*] 'This is from W. Pictaviensis, who puts it in the mouth of the Conqueror: but it is evidently false, for Godwin died A.D. 1053, Siward A.D. 1054; and in 1054 we find Edward the Confessor sending for his nephew from Hungary to make him his successor in the kingdom, who accordingly arrives in 1057, and dies almost immediately after. He could not therefore have made the settlement, as here asserted.' (Sharpe, 316.) 'Stigandus nunquam pallium a Roma meruit, quamvis et ibi venalitas multum operetur. . . . Coronam regni de manu ejus rex detrectavit suscipere, astutia qua consueverat prohibitores ex parte apostolici subornans. Nec multo post in Normanniam navigans, sub velamine honoris, illum renitentem secum traxit; ne quid perfidiæ, se absente, per ejus auctoritatem in Anglia pullularet. Inter quæ difficile dictu est, quantis eum exceperit officiis, dignanter ubique locorum assurgendo, et contra eum in omnibus episcopatibus Normanniæ et abbatiis longa serie pompæ procedi faciendo. Sed quid his tegebatur involucris erupit in clarum; scilicet cum depositus est Stigandus, fidem Willelmi appellans.' (Ex Gestis Pontif. Angl. p. 116 b.)

[2] *Ea.*] *A. S. E. L.*; illa, *C. D.*

juxta vexillum stabat cum fratribus, ut, in commune periculo æquato, nemo de fuga cogitaret. Vexillum illud post victoriam papæ misit Willelmus, quod erat in hominis pugnantis figura, auro et lapidibus arte sumptuosa [1]intextum. A.D. 1066.

§ 242. Contra Normanni, nocte tota confessioni peccatorum vacantes, mane Dominico corpore communicarunt. Pedites cum arcubus et sagittis primam frontem muniunt, equites retro divisis alis consistunt. Comes vultu serenus, et clara voce suæ parti utpote justiori Deum affuturum pronuncians, arma poposcit; moxque ministrorum tumultu [2]loricam inversam indutus, casum risu correxit, 'Vertetur,' inquiens, 'fortitudo [3]comitatus mei in regnum.' Tunc [4]cantilena Rollandi inchoata, ut martium viri exemplum [5]pugnaturos accenderet, inclamatoque Dei auxilio, prælium [6]consertum, bellatumque acriter, neutris in multam diei horam cedentibus. Quo comperto, Willelmus innuit suis ut, ficta fuga, campo se subtraherent. Hoc commento Anglorum cuneus solutus, quasi palantes hostes a tergo cæsurus, exitium sibi maturavit; Normanni enim, conversis ordinibus reversi, dispersos adoriuntur, et in fugam cogunt. Ita ingenio circumventi, pulchram mortem pro patriæ ultione meruere: nec tamen ultioni suæ defuere, quin, crebro con-

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[1] *Intextum.*] *C. D. E.*; contextum, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Loricam inversam.*] As the armour of that time was of mail, this might easily happen.

[3] *Comitatus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; ducatus, *S.* — The words *comitatus* and *ducatus* appear to be used indifferently by the historians of that time.

[4] *Cantilena Rollandi.*] It is supposed to be a metrical romance, commemorating the heroic achievements of the Paladin Roland and other peers of Charlemagne, who fell at Roncevault. Rivet (Histoire littéraire de la France, tom. VII. p. 72,) infers from this passage that *la langue Romane* was in use at that period.

[5] *Pugnaturos.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; pugnatores, *E* 1.

[6] *Consertum.*] *C. D. E. L.*; utrinque consertum, *A. S.*

A.D. 1066. sistentes, de insequentibus insignes cladis acervos facerent; nam, occupato tumulo, Normannos, calore succensos acriter ad superiora nitentes, in vallem dejiciunt, levique negotio in subjectos tela torquentes, lapides rotantes, omnes ad unum fundunt. Item fossatum quoddam præruptum compendiario et noto sibi transitu evadentes, tot ibi inimicorum conculcavere, ut cumulo cadaverum planitiem campi æquarent. Valuit hæc vicissitudo, modo illis, modo istis vincentibus, quantum [1] Haroldi vita moram fecit; at ubi jactu sagittæ violato cerebro procubuit, fuga Anglorum perennis in nocte fuit. Emicuit ibi virtus amborum ducum.

Death of Harold.

His conduct during the battle.

§ 243. Haroldus, non contentus munere imperatorio ut hortaretur alios, militis officium sedulo exequebatur; sæpe hostem cominus venientem ferire, ut nullus impune accederet quin statim uno ictu equus et eques procederent: quapropter, ut dixi, eminus lethali arundine ictus mortem implevit. Jacentis femur unus militum gladio proscidit; unde a Willelmo ignominiæ notatus, quod rem ignavam et pudendam fecisset, militia pulsus est.

William's conduct there.

§ 244. Item Willelmus suos clamore et præsentia hortari, ipse primus procurrere, confertos hostes invadere: ideo dum ubique sævit, ubique infrendet, tres equos lectissimos sub se confossos ea die amisit. Perstitit tamen magnanimi ducis et corpus et animus, quamvis familiari susurro a custodibus corporis revocaretur; perstitit (inquam) donec victoriam plenam superveniens nox infunderet. Et proculdubio divina illum manus protexit, ut nihil sanguinis ex ejus corpore [2] hostis hauriret, quamquam illum tot jaculis impeteret.

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[1] *Haroldi.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; Haroldo, *C.*

[2] *Hostis.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

§ 245. Illa fuit dies fatalis [1] Angliæ, funestum excidium dulcis patriæ, pro novorum dominorum commutatione. Jam enim pridem moribus Anglorum insueverat, qui varii admodum pro temporibus fuere: nam, primis adventus sui annis, vultu et gestu barbarico, usu bellico, ritu fanatico vivebant; sed postmodum, Christi fide suscepta, paulatim et per incrementa temporis, pro otio quod actitabant, exercitium armorum in secundis ponentes, omnem in religione operam insumpsere. Taceo de pauperibus, quos fortunarum tenuitas plerumque continet ne cancellos justitiæ transgrediantur: prætermitto graduum ecclesiasticorum viros, quos nonnunquam professionis contuitus, sed et infamiæ metus, a vero deviare non sinit. De regibus dico, qui pro amplitudine potestatis licenter indulgere voluptatibus possent: quorum quidam in patria, quidam Romæ, mutato habitu, cœleste lucrati sunt regnum, beatum nacti commercium; multi, specie tenus, tota vita mundum amplexi, ut thesauros egenis effunderent, monasteriis dividerent. Quid dicam de tot episcopis, heremitis, abbatibus? nonne tota insula tantis reliquiis indigenarum fulgurat, ut vix aliquem vicum insignem prætereas ubi novi sancti nomen non audias? quam multorum etiam periit memoria, pro scriptorum inopia! Veruntamen literarum et religionis studia ætate procedente obsoleverunt, non paucis ante adventum Normannorum annis. [2] Clerici literatura tumultuaria contenti, vix sacramen-

Manners and customs of the English.

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[1] *Angliæ.*] *D. E. L.*; Anglis, *S.*

[2] *Clerici literatura . . . grammaticam nosset.*] See § 123, pp. 191, 192. King Aelfred, in his preface to Gregory's Pastoral, states that learning was so decayed in England, that very few priests on this side of the Humber could understand the common service of the church, and he knew none south of the Thames who could turn an ordinary piece of Latin into English.

torum verba balbutiebant: stupori erat et miraculo cæteris qui grammaticam nosset. Monachi, subtilibus indumentis et indifferenti genere ciborum, regulam ludificabant. Optimates, gulæ et veneri dediti, ecclesiam more Christiano mane non adibant; sed in cubiculo, et inter uxorios amplexus, matutinarum solemnia et missarum a festinante presbytero auribus tantum libabant. Vulgus, in medio expositum, præda erat potentioribus, ut, vel eorum substantiis exhaustis, vel etiam corporibus in longinquas terras distractis, acervos thesaurorum congererent, quanquam magis ingenitum sit illi genti commessationibus quam [1]opibus inhiare. Illud erat a natura abhorrens, quod multi ancillas suas ex se gravidas, ubi libidini satisfecissent, aut ad publicum prostibulum aut ad [2]externum obsequium venditabant. [3]Potabatur in commune ab omnibus, in hoc studio noctes perinde ut dies perpetuantibus. Parvis et abjectis domibus totos [4]absumebant sumptus; Francis et Normannis absimiles, qui amplis et superbis ædificiis modicas expensas agunt. Sequebantur vitia ebrietatis socia, quæ virorum animos effæminant. Hinc factum est, ut, magis temeritate et furore præcipiti quam scientia militari Willelmo congressi, uno prælio, et ipso perfacili, servituti se patriamque pessundederint. Nihil enim temeritate levius; sed quicquid cum impetu inchoat, cito desinit vel compescitur. Ad summam, [5]tunc erant Angli

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[1] *Opibus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; operibus, *S.*

[2] *Externum obsequium venditabant.*] *C. D. E. L.*; æternum obsequium vendicabant, *A. S.* See note [1], p. 63.

[3] *Potabatur in commune . . . perpetuantibus.*] See § 149, p. 237.

[4] *Absumebant.*] *S. C. D. E.*; abliguriebant, *L.*

[5] *Tunc erant Angli . . . insigniti.*] This description of the English must refer to the ancient

vestibus ad medium genu expediti, crines tonsi, barbas rasi, armillis aureis brachia onerati, picturatis stigmatibus cutem insigniti; in cibis urgentes crapulam, in [1]potibus irritantes vomicam. Et hæc quidem extrema [2]jam victoribus suis participarunt, de cæteris in eorum mores transeuntes. Sed hæc mala de omnibus generaliter Anglis dicta intelligi nolim: scio clericos multos tunc temporis simplici via semitam sanctitatis trivisse; scio multos laicos omnis generis et conditionis Deo in eadem gente placuisse: facessat ab hac relatione invidia, non cunctos pariter hæc involvit calumnia; verum sicut in tranquillitate malos cum bonis fovet plerumque Dei serenitas, ita in captivitate bonos cum malis nonnunquam ejusdem constringit severitas.

DE MORIBUS NORMANNORUM.

§ 246. Porro Normanni (ut de eis quoque dicamus) erant tunc, et sunt adhuc, vestibus ad invidiam culti, cibis citra ullam nimietatem delicati: gens militiæ assueta, et sine bello pene vivere nescia; in hostem impigre procurrere, et, ubi vires non successissent, non minus dolo et pecunia corrumpere. Domi ingentia, ut dixi, ædificia moderatos sumptus moliri, paribus invidere, superiores prætergredi velle, subjectos [3]sibi vellicantes

Manners of the Normans.

British, and not to the Saxons. It accords with the notices of them by Cæsar, Diodorus, Pomponius Mela, and Dion Cassius, but more particularly with that by Herodian. (Herodiani Historiarum; ed. Irmisch. Lipsiæ, 1789.) The British, that historian writes, go naked as to the greater part of their bodies. Indeed they do not know the use of clothing. They gird with iron their loins and necks, deeming it an ornament, and an evidence of opulence: they puncture their bodies with pictured forms of all kinds of animals, and therefore they wear no clothing, lest they should hide the figures on their bodies.

[1] *Potibus.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; poculis, *C.*

[2] *Jam.*] *D. E. L.*; omitted in *A. S. C.*

[3] *Sibi.*] *E* 1.; ipsi, *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*

ab alienis tutari; dominis fideles, moxque levi offensa infideles. Cum fato ponderare perfidiam, cum nummo mutare sententiam. Cæterum, omnium gentium benignissimi advenas æquali secum honore colunt; matrimonia quoque cum subditis jungunt; religionis normam, usquequaque in Anglia emortuam, adventu suo suscitarunt; videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et urbibus monasteria, [1]novo ædificandi genere consurgere; recenti ritu patriam florere, ita ut sibi perisse diem quisque opulentus existimet quem non aliqua [2]præclara magnificentia illustret. Sed, quia de his satis dictum, Willelmi gesta prosequamur.

QUOMODO WILLELMUS AB ANGLIS SUSCEPTUS EST.

A.D. 1066. William's conduct after the battle of Hastings.

§ 247. Ille, ubi perfecta victoria potitus est, suos sepeliendos mirifice curavit; hostibus quoque si qui vellent, idem exequendi licentiam præbuit. [3]Corpus Haroldi matri repetenti sine pretio misit, licet illa multum per legatos obtulisset: acceptum itaque apud Waltham sepelivit, quam ipse ecclesiam, ex proprio constructam in honore

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[1] *Novo.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; nova, *E* 1.

[2] *Præclara.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[3] *Corpus Haroldi . . . apud Waltham sepelivit.*] There seems to have been a fabulous story current during the twelfth century that Harold escaped from the battle of Hastings. Giraldus Cambrensis asserts that it was believed Harold had fled from the battle-field pierced with many wounds, and with the loss of his left eye, and that he ended his days piously and virtuously as an anchorite at Chester. Both Knighton and Brompton quote this story. W. Pictaviensis says that William refused the body to his mother, who offered its weight in gold for it, ordering it to be buried on the seacoast. In the Harleian MS. 3776, before referred to, Guerth, Harold's brother, is said to have escaped alive: he is represented in his interview with Henry the Second to have spoken mysteriously respecting Harold, and to have declared that the body of that prince was not at Waltham. Sir Henry Ellis, quoting this MS. justly observes that the whole was, probably, the fabrication of one of the secular canons, who were ejected at the re-foundation of Waltham abbey in 1177.

sanctæ Crucis, canonicis impleverat. Sensim ergo Willelmus (ut triumphatorem decebat) cum exercitu, non hostili sed regali modo progrediens, urbem regni maximam Londoniam petit; moxque cum gratulatione cives omnes effusi obviam vadunt. Prorupit omnibus portis unda salutantium, auctoribus magnatibus, præcipue Stigando archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et Aldredo Eboracensi: nam præcedentibus diebus, Edwinus et Morcardus, amplæ spei fratres, apud Londoniam audito interitus Haroldi nuncio, urbanos sollicitaverant ut alterutrum in regnum sublevarent; quod frustra conati, Northanhimbriam discesserant, ex suo conjectantes ingenio nunquam illuc Willelmum esse venturum. Cæteri proceres Edgarum eligerent si episcopos assertores haberent; sed proximo urgente periculo, et domesticæ litis dissidio, nec illud [1]quidem effectum: ita Angli, qui, in unam coeuntes sententiam, potuissent patriæ reformare ruinam, dum nullum ex suis volunt, alienum induxerunt. Tunc ille, haud dubie rex conclamatus, die Natalis Domini [2]coronatus est ab Aldredo archiepiscopo; cavebat enim id munus a Stigando suscipere, quod esset is archiepiscopus non legitime.

Is crowned, 25 Dec. 1066.

SUMMA BELLORUM WILLELMI IN ANGLIA.

§ 248. Omnium deinde bellorum quæ gessit, hæc summa est. Urbem [3]Exoniam rebellantem

His warfare in England, A.D. 1067.

[1] *Quidem.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Coronatus est.*] A full account of William's coronation will be found in the Chronicle of William of Poictou, the Conqueror's chaplain (p. 205).

[3] *Exoniam.*] *A. C. D. E.*; Oxoniam, *S.*—It will be observed that, with the exception of the MS. used by Savile, all the MSS. agree in reading *Exoniam:* but Matthew Paris, who has followed Malmesbury, seems to have written Oxford instead of Exeter; the best MSS. of Matthew Paris (MS. Reg. 14, C. VII. and MS. Cott. Nero, D. v.) reading *Oxoniam.* Upon a passage in the Domesday Survey describ-

leviter subegit, divino scilicet jutus auxilio, quod pars muralis ultro decidens, ingressum illi patefecerit: nam et ipse audacius eam assilierat, protestans homines irreverentes Dei destituendos suffragio; quia unus eorum, supra murum stans, nudato inguine auras sonitu inferioris partis turbaverat, pro contemptu videlicet Normannorum.

A.D. 1068. [1]Eboracum, unicum rebellionum suffugium, civibus pene delevit, fame et ferro necatis: ibi enim rex Scotorum Malcolmus cum suis, ibi Edgarus et Marcherius et Weldeofus cum Anglis et Danis, nidum tyrannidis sæpe fovebant; sæpe duces illius trucidabant, quorum sigillatim exitus si commemoravero, fortasse superfluus non ero, licet fastidii discrimen immineat, dum relatori, si forte secundum dictores suos mentiatur, difficilis sit regressus ad veniam.

QUOMODO EBORACUM CEPERIT, ET TOTAM PROVINCIAM VASTAVERIT.

The northern provinces laid waste.

§ 249. Malcolmus omnes Anglorum perfugas libenter recipiebat, tutamentum singulis quantum poterat impendens; Edgarum præcipue, cujus

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ing *Oxford* as containing *four hundred and seventy-eight houses which were so desolated that they could not pay geld*, Sir Henry Ellis remarks: 'The extraordinary number of houses specified as desolated at Oxford requires explanation. If the passage is correct, Matthew Paris probably gives us the cause of it, under the year 1067, when William the Conqueror subdued *Oxford*, in his way to York: "Eodem tempore rex Willielmus urbem Oxoniam sibi rebellem obsidione vallavit. Super cujus murum quidam, stans nudato inguine, sonitu partis inferioris auras turbavit, in contemptum videlicet Normannorum; unde Willielmus in iram conversus, civitatem levi negotio subjugavit. (Matt. Par. ed. Watts, sub ann. 1067, p. 4.)"' The siege of Exeter in 1067 is also mentioned by Simeon of Durham, col. 197; Hoveden, col. 258; Ralph de Diceto, col. 482; Florence of Worcester, fol. Francof. 1601, p. 635; and by Ordericus Vitalis, p. 510.

[1] *Eboracum.*] *E.*; Eboracum civitatem, *A. S. C. D. L.*—The destruction of York took place in 1068.

sororem, pro antiqua memoria nobilitatis, jugalem sibi fecerat. Ejus causa conterminas Angliæ provincias rapinis et incendiis infestabat; non quod aliquid ad regnum illi profuturum arbitraretur, sed ut Willelmi animum contristaret, qui Scotticis prædis terras suas obnoxias indignaretur. Quapropter Willelmus, coacta peditum et [1]militum manu, aquilonales insulæ partes petiit: et primo urbem metropolim, quam Angli cum Danis et Scottis obstinate tenebant, in deditionem accepit, civibus longa inedia consumptis; maximum quoque hostium numerum, qui obsessis in auxilium convenerant, ingenti et gravi prælio fudit, non incruenta sibi victoria multos suorum amittens. [2]Tunc totius regionis vicos et agros corrumpi, fructus et fruges igne vel aqua labefactari jubet; maritima maxime, tum propter recentem iram, tum quia Cnutonem Danorum regem, filium Swani, adventare rumor sparserat: ea præcepti ratio, ut nihil circa oram maritimam prædo piraticus inveniret secum asportaturus, si citius remeandum; vel fami consulturus, si diutius manendum putaret. Itaque provinciæ quondam fertilis, et tyrannorum nutriculæ, incendio,

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[1] *Militum.*] *D. E. L.*; equitum, *S.*

[2] *Tunc totius regionis vicos et agros corrumpi.*] Domesday Book bears ample testimony to this statement, and that which closely follows, viz. that the resources of this once flourishing province were cut off by fire, slaughter, and devastation; and the ground for more than sixty miles totally uncultivated and unproductive, remains bare to the present day. The land which had belonged to Edwin and Morcar in Yorkshire almost everywhere in the Survey is stated to be *wasta;* and in Amunderness, after the enumeration of no fewer than sixty-two places, the possessions in which amounted to one hundred and seventy carucates, it is said, 'Omnes hæ villæ jacent ad Prestune et III. ecclesiæ. Ex his XVI. a paucis incoluntur, sed quot sint habitantes ignoratur. Reliqua sunt wasta.' Moreover *wasta* is added to numerous places belonging to the archbishop of York, St. John of Beverley, the bishop of Durham, and to those lands which had belonged to Waltheof, Gospatric, Siward, and Merleswain.

præda, sanguine, nervi succisi; humus, per sexaginta et eo amplius milliaria, omnifariam inculta; nudum omnium solum usque ad hoc etiam tempus: urbes olim præclaras, turres proceritate sua in cœlum minantes, agros lætos pascuis, irriguos fluviis, si quis modo videt peregrinus, ingemit; si quis superest vetus incola, non agnoscit.

DE MALCOLMO REGE SCOTTORUM.

Malcolm king of Scots.

§ 250. Malcolmus, antequam ad manus veniretur, se dedidit, totoque Willelmi tempore incertis et sæpe fractis fœderibus ævum egit; sed, filio Willelmi Willelmo regnante, simili modo impetitus, falso sacramento insequentem abegit. Nec multo post, dum fidei immemor superbius provinciam inequitaret, a Roberto de Molbreia, comite Northanhimbriæ, [1]cum filio cæsus est; humatusque multis annis apud Tinemuthe, nuper ab Alexandro filio Scotiam ad Dunfermelin portatus est.

A.D. 1093.

DE EDGARO.

Eadgar Aetheling.

§ 251. Edgarus, cum Stigando et Aldredo archiepiscopis regis [2]dedititius, sequenti anno, facto ad [3]Scottum transfugio, jusjurandum maculavit; sed cum ibi aliquot annis degens, nihil ad præsens commodi, nihil ad futurum spei, præter quotidianam stipem nactus esset, Normanni liberalitatem experiri pergens, ad eum, tunc ultra mare degentem, navigavit. Quod regi gratissimum

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[1] *Cum filio cæsus est.*] Malcolm, with his son Edward, was slain on the 13th of November 1093, by Morael of Bamborough, the steward of the earl of Northumberland. (Sax. Chron.)

[2] *Dedititius.*] *S. L.*; deditius, *E.*

[3] *Scottum.*] *A. S. E. L.*; Scotiam, *C. D.*

fuisse ferunt, ut incentore bellorum Anglia vacaret; nam et ultro solitus erat quoscunque Anglos suspectos habebat, quasi honoris causa, Normanniam ducere, ne quicquam se absente in regno turbarent. Receptus ergo Edgarus, et magno donativo donatus est; pluribusque annis in curia manens, pedetentim pro ignavia, et, ut mitius dictum sit, pro simplicitate, contemptui haberi cœpit. Quantula enim simplicitas, ut libram argenti, quam quotidie in stipendio accipiebat, regi pro uno equo perdonaret? Subsequenti tempore cum Roberto filio Godwini, milite audacissimo, Ierosolymam pertendit. Illud fuit tempus quo Turchi Baldwinum regem apud Ramas obsederunt; qui, cum [1]obsidionis injuriam ferre nequiret, per medias hostium acies effugit, solius Roberti opera liberatus præeuntis, et evaginato gladio dextra lævaque Turchos cædentis: sed cum, successu ipso truculentior, alacritate nimia procurreret, ensis manu excidit; ad quem recolligendum cum se inclinasset, omnium incursu oppressus, vinculis palmas dedit. Inde Babylonem (ut aiunt) ductus, cum Christum abnegare nollet, in medio foro ad signum positus, et sagittis terebratus, martyrium sacravit. Edgarus amisso milite regressus, multaque beneficia ab imperatoribus Græcorum et Alamannorum adeptus, (quippe qui etiam eum retinere pro generis amplitudine tentassent,) omnia pro natalis soli desiderio sprevit; quosdam enim profecto fallit amor patriæ, ut nihil eis videatur jocundum nisi consuetum hauserint cœlum. Unde Edgarus, fatua cupidine illusus, Angliam rediit, [2]unde (ut superius dixi) diverso fortunæ ludicro

A.D. 1103.

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[1] *Obsidionis.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Unde.*] *C. E.*; ubi, *A. S. D. L.*

rotatus, [1]nunc remotus et tacitus canos suos in agro consumit.

DE EDWINO ET MORCARDO FRATRIBUS.

Of Eadwin and Morcar.

§ 252. Edwinus et Morcardus erant fratres, filii Elfgari, filii Leofrici. Hi comitatum Northanhimbrorum susceperant, et communi umbone pacifice tuebantur: nam ([2]ut prædixi), paucis diebus ante mortem regis Edwardi, provinciales aquilonis in rebellionem surrexerant, et Tostinum comitem suum expulerant, petierantque et acceperant unum e fratribus dominum, annitente Haroldo. Fiebant ista, ut a consciis accepimus, infenso rege, quia Tostinum diligeret: sed morbo invalidus, senio gravis, pene jam despectui [3]omnibus haberi cœperat, ut dilecto auxiliari non posset; quare ex animi ægritudine majorem valetudinem corporis contrahens, non multo post decessit. Perstitit in incœpto Haroldus ut fratrem exlegaret: quocirca ille, prius piraticis excursibus avitos triumphos polluens, mox cum rege Noricorum (ut supra scripsi) cæsus est. Cadaver ejus, indicio verrucæ inter duas sca-

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[1] *Nunc remotus et tacitus canos suos in agro consumit.*] It is probable that Eadgar resided in Hertfordshire, as in the Domesday Survey he occurs as a tenant in capite in Hertfordshire. (Doms. tom. I. fol. 142[a].) Fordun (lib. v. c. 27—34) has a story of Eadgar's being cleared from an accusation of treason against William Rufus, by one Godwin, in a duel; whose son Robert is afterwards described as one of Eadgar's adherents in Scotland: and the Saxon Chronicle states that in the year 1106 he was one of the prisoners taken at the battle of Tinchebrai, in Normandy. Eadgar is stated by Dr. Sayers, in his Disquisitions, 8vo. 1808, p. 296, upon the authority of the Spelman Manuscripts, to have again visited Scotland at a very advanced period of life, and died in that kingdom in the year 1120. If this date can be relied upon, the passage above noted would prove that Malmesbury had written this portion of his history before the close of that year.

[2] *Ut prædixi.*] § 228, p. 386.

[3] *Omnibus.*] *A. S. D.*; omitted in *C. E. L.*

pulas agnitum, sepulturam Eboraci meruit. Tunc Edwinus et Morcardus (Haroldo jubente) manubiales prædas Londoniam tulere; nam ipse ad Hastingensem pugnam festinabat, [1]unde jam partam victoriam falso præsagus somniabat. At, eo interemto, germani, ad terras suæ potestatis perfugientes, aliquot annis pacem Willelmi turbaverunt, clandestinis latrociniis sylvas infestantes, nec unquam cominus et aperte martem agentes; sæpe etiam capti plerumque se dedidere, sed miseratione juvenilis decoris, et gratia nobilitatis, impune dimissi. Postremo nec vi nec dolo hostium, sed [2]suorum perfidia trucidati, A.D. 1071. regem ad lachrymas flexere; quibus ipse et conjugia cognatarum et amicitiæ dignationem jam pridem indulsisset, si quieti adquiescere vellent.

DE WELDEOFO COMITE.

§ 253. Weldeofus, amplæ prosapiæ comes, multam familiaritatem novi regis nactus fuerat, quod ille, præteritarum offensarum immemor, magis illas virtuti quam perfidiæ attribuebat. Siquidem Weldeofus in Eboracensi pugna plures Normannorum solus obtruncaverat, unos et unos per portam egredientes decapitans: nervosus lacertis, thorosus pectore, robustus et procerus toto corpore, filius Siwardi magnificentissimi comitis, quem Digera Danico vocabulo, id est fortem, cognominabant. Postmodum vero, victis partibus, sese sponte dedens, et [3]Judithæ neptis Of Earl Waltheof.

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[1] *Unde.*] *C. D. E.*; indeque, *A.*; inde, *L.*; ubi, *S.*

[2] *Suorum perfidia trucidati.*] The Saxon Chronicle states that Earl Eadwin was treacherously slain by his own men in 1071, and that Earl Morcar surrendered himself to the king in the same year.

[3] *Judithæ neptis regis.*] Judith was daughter of Comte Enguerrand, and Adeliza, sister of the Conqueror. William seems to have been very profuse in his grants to her.

regis connubio privataque amicitia donatus, non permansit in fide, pravum ingenium cohibere impotens: compatriotis enim omnibus, qui existimarant resistendum, cæsis vel subjectis, etiam in
A.D. 1074. Radulfi de Waher perfidia se immiscuit,[1] sed conjuratione detecta, comprehensus diuque in vin-
A.D. 1075. culis tentus, ultimo spoliatus capite, Crolando sepultus est; quamvis quidam dicant, necessitate interceptum, non voluntate addictum, infidelitatis sacramentum agitasse. Anglorum est ista excusatio; nam cætera Normanni[2] asserunt, Anglorum qui plurimum præstent. Quorum astipulationi Divinitas suffragari videtur, miracula multa, et ea permaxima, ad tumbam illius ostendens. Aiunt enim, in catenas conjectum, quotidianis singultibus perperam commissa diluisse.

William's severity towards the English.

§ 254. Inde propositum regis fortassis merito excusatur, si aliquando durior in Anglos fuerit, quod pene nullum eorum fidelem invenerit. Quæ res ita ferocem animum exasperabant, ut potentiores primum pecuniis, mox terris, nonnullos etiam vita exueret: quin etiam Cæsarianum secutus ingenium, qui Germanos in Ardenna maxima sylva abditos, et inde crebris eruptionibus exercitum suum affligentes, non per Romanos suos, sed per Gallos fœderatos expulit; ut, dum alienigenæ alterutros transfoderent, ipse sine sanguine triumphum duceret. Idem (inquam) Willelmus in Anglos egit: nam contra quosdam, qui post primam infelicis ominis pugnam Danemarchiam
A.D. 1068. et Hiberniam profugerant, et valida congregata

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[1] *Sed conjuratione detecta.*] Earl Waltheof, or Wallef as he is always styled in Domesday Book, was, according to the Saxon Chronicle, beheaded at Winchester on the 31st May 1076. The Chronicle of Mailros and Florence of Worcester, however, assign this event to the preceding year.

[2] *Asserunt.*] *A. S.*; afferunt, *C. D. E. L.*

manu tertio anno redierant, Angligenam exercitum et ducem objecit, Normannos feriari permittens; ingens sibi levamen providens, utrilibet vincerent. Nec eum cogitatio lusit; nam utrique Angli, aliquandiu digladiati inter se, palmam otiosam regi refudere: advenæ Hiberniam fugati; regii, maxima sui clade, nomen inane victoriæ, amisso duce, mercati. Vocabatur[1] is Ednodus, domi belloque Anglorum temporibus juxta insignis, pater Herdingi qui adhuc superest, magis consuetus linguam in lites acuere, quam arma in bello concutere. Ita laicorum potentia subruta, stabili quoque obfirmavit edicto ut nullum ejus gentis, monachum vel clericum, ad aliquam dignitatem conari pateretur: a Cnutonis quondam regis facilitate immaniter abhorrens, qui victis honores integros exhibuit; unde factum est, ut, eo defuncto, indigenæ advenas leviter expellerent, sibique antiquum jus vendicarent. At iste certis de causis viventes quosdam canonice deposuit, et in locum illorum qui morirentur, cujuscunque gentis [2]industrium, præter Angligenam, imposuit. Exigebat hoc, nisi fallor, indurata in regem pervicacia; cum sint Normanni ([3]ut ante dixi) in conviventes advenas naturali benignitate proclives. A.D. 1070.

§ 255. Radulfus, de quo prius tetigi, erat per donum regis comes Northfolki et Suthfolki; [4]Brito ex patre, distorti ad omne bonum animi. Is, quod cognatam regis, filiam Willelmi filii Os- Ralph de Guader's conspiracy, A.D. 1074.

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[1] *Is Ednodus.*] *C. D. E. L.*; Isednodus, *A. S.*—Ednoth was Harold's master of the horse. He was killed in 1068, in opposing the sons of Harold when they came upon their expedition from Ireland.

[2] *Industrium.*] *C. E.*; industrium hominem, *A. S. D. L.*

[3] *Ut ante dixi.*] § 246.

[4] *Brito ex patre.*] Raulf þæf Brýttiſc on hif moðerhealfe, but his father was English, and born in Norfolk. (Sax. Chron. A.D. 1075.)

berni, desponderat, majora justo mente metiens, tyrannidem adoriri meditabatur. Itaque ipso nuptiarum die magnis apparatibus convivium agitatum, (quod Normannorum gulæ jam Anglorum luxus influxerat,) ebriis convivis, et vino tumentibus, amplo verborum ambitu propositum suum aperit: illi, quia in eorum animo pro potu omnis ratio caligabat, ingenti plausu dicenti acclamant. Ibi Rogerius comes Herefordensis, uxoris Radulfi frater, ibi Weldeofus, ibi præterea quamplurimi, in necem regis conjurant; sed postero die, cum, digesto calore vini, temperatior aura corda quorundam afflasset, major pars facti pœnitens a convivio dilapsa. Unus eorum (Weldeof fertur), qui consilio Lanfranci archiepiscopi [1]Normanniam ultro [2]navigans, rem regi, causa sua duntaxat celata, detulit: at comites in incœpto persistere, provinciales suos quisque in tumultum excitare; sed obsistebat eis Deus, omnes conatus eorum in irritum deducens. Mox enim re comperta, duces regis, qui custodiam prætendebant, Radulfum ad hoc calamitatis compulere, ut, arrepta nave apud Norwic, mari se committeret: uxor ejus, pacta membrorum salute, traditoque castello, maritum secuta. Rogerius, a rege vinculis irretitus, tota vita carcerem frequentavit vel potius incoluit; detestandæ perfidiæ juvenis, nec moribus patrissans.

William Fitz-Osberne.

§ 256. Siquidem [3]genitor ejus, Willelmus filius

[1] *Normanniam ultro navigans, rem regi, causa sua duntaxat celata, detulit.*] Mr. Ingram, the editor of the Saxon Chronicle, has accused Malmesbury of here perverting the words of the Saxon Chronicle. He moreover charges the Latin historians with having in general misunderstood these words, and assumes that 'Some have omitted the whole passage, because they did not comprehend it.' Mr. Ingram's reasons for arriving at this conclusion are, however, far from satisfactory.

[2] *Navigans.*] *E* 1; enavigans, *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*

[3] *Genitor ejus.*] William Fitz-Osberne was only the father-in-law of Ralph de Guader.

Osberni, [1]principibus optimis comparandus fuerit, haud scio an etiam præponendus. Ejus consilio rex Willelmus primo animatus ad invadendam Angliam; mox, virtute adjutus, ad manutenendam. Erat in eo mentis animositas quam commendabat manus pene prodiga liberalitas: unde factum est, ut militum multitudine, quibus larga stipendia dabat, hostium aviditatem arceret, civium sedulitatem haberet; quare pro effusis sumptibus asperrimam regis offensam incurrit, quod gazas suas improvide dilapidaret. Manet ad hanc diem, in comitatu ejus apud Herefordum, legum quas statuit inconcussa firmitas, ut nullus miles pro qualicunque commisso plus septem solidis solvat; cum in aliis provinciis, ob parvam occasiunculam in transgressione præcepti herilis, viginti vel viginti quinque pendantur. Sed tam secundos eventus turpi fine fortuna conclusit, dum tanti regni sustentator, Angliæ et Normanniæ consiliarius, pro fœminea cupidine Flandriam pergens, ab insidiatoribus impetitus interiit. Nam Baldwinus antiquus ille (de quo superius dixi), pater Matildis, duos habuit filios: Robertum, qui, patre superstite comitissam Frisiæ uxorem nactus, Frisonis cognomen accepit: Baldwinum, qui post patrem aliquot annis Flandriæ præfuit, immatureque fato functus est; superstitibus duobus liberis Arnulfo et Baldwino, de Richilde uxore, quorum tutelam regi Francorum Philippo, [2]cujus amitæ filius erat, et Willelmo filio Osberni, commendaverat.

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[1] *Principibus.*] *A. C. D. E.*; principis, *S. L.*

[2] *Cujus amitæ filius erat.*] 'Robertus (rex Francorum) genuit Henricum, qui XXIX. annis regnavit: Henricus genuit Philippum, qui, Henrico rege Francorum patre suo mortuo, parvulus remansit; cujus Balduinus comes Flandriæ tutor fuit; nam ejus amitam, sororem Henrici regis, uxorem duxerat.'—Lib. de Castro Ambasiæ, ap. Acherium, tom. III. p. 272. (Bouq. XI. 186.)

Libens id munus suscepit Willelmus, ut, fœderatis cum Richilde nuptiis, altius nomen sibi pararet. At illa, fœmineo fastu [1]ampliora sexu spirans, novaque a provincialibus tributa exigens, in perfidiam illos excitavit; misso quippe propter Robertum Frisonem nuncio, ut supplicantis patriæ habenas acciperet, omnem fidelitatem Arnulfo, qui jam comes dicebatur, [2]abjurant. Nec vero defuere qui pupilli partes fulcirent; ita multis diebus Flandria intestinis dissensionibus conturbata. Id filius Osberni, qui totus in amorem mulieris concesserat, pati nequivit, quin, militari manu coacta, Flandriam intraret; susceptusque primo ab his quos tutari venerat, post paucos dies securus de castello in aliud equitabat, expeditus cum paucis: contra, Friso, quem hujusmodi fatuitas non latebat, occultatis insidiis inopinum excepit, et, nequicquam fortiter agentem, ipsum et nepotem suum Arnulfum cecidit.

A.D. 1071.

Robert le Frison earl of Flanders.

§ 257. Ita Flandria potitus, sæpe Willelmum regem Normannicis prædis irritavit. Filia ejus Cnutoni regi Danorum nupsit, de qua genitus est [3]Karolus, qui modo principatur in Flandria. Pacem cum Philippo rege comparavit, data sibi in uxorem privigna, de qua ille Lodowicum tulit qui modo regnat in Francia; nec multo post, pertæsus connubii, (quod illa præpinguis corpulentiæ esset,) a lecto removit, uxoremque Andegavensis comitis contra fas et jus sibi conjunxit. Eorum affinitate tutus, Robertus nihil quod de-

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[1] *Ampliora.*] *C. D.*; altiora *vel* ampliora, *E.*; altiora, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Abjurant.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; abjuravit, *C.*

[3] *Karolus, qui modo principatur in Flandria.*] Charles, called the Good. He was the son of Cnut IV. king of Denmark, and Adele daughter of Robert le Frison. He succeeded Baudouin VII. as earl of Flanders (17th June 1119), and died 2nd March 1127.

ploraret suo tempore vidit; licet Baldwinus frater Arnulfi, qui in Hanoea provincia et castello Valentianis comitatum habuit, regis Willelmi auxilio plures assultus faceret. Tribus ante mortem annis, jam canis sparsus caput, Ierosolymam contendit pro peccatorum alleviamento; regressus mundanis involucris renunciavit, finem vitæ quietus a negotiis Christiana sollicitudine operiens. Filius ejus Robertus ille fuit qui in expeditione Asiatica (quam nostris diebus Europa contra Turchos movit) mirandus innotuit; sed nescio quo infortunio, postquam domum reversus est, nobilem illum laborem decoloravit, in quodam (quod vocant) torniamento [1] ad mortem A.D. 1111.
læsus. Nec filium ejus Baldwinum fortuna excepit felicior, qui, ultro in Normannia regis Anglorum Henrici vires lacessens, juvenilis audaciæ temeritatem luit; namque conto in capite percussus, multorumque medicorum promissis illusus, metam vitæ abrupit, Karolo illi de quo A.D. 1119.
supra diximus principatu tradito.

Transactions in this reign.

§ 258. At vero rex Willelmus in subjectos leniter, turbide in rebelles agens, feliciter omni Anglia potiebatur; Walenses omnes tributarios habens. Jam vero trans mare, nunquam otiosus, A.D. 1073.
[2] Cenomannico solo pene exterminium indixit, ducta expeditione illuc de Anglis, qui sicut facile in solo suo potuerunt opprimi, ita in alieno semper apparuere invicti. [3] Apud Dolum, cas- A.D. 1075.

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[1] *Ad mortem læsus.*] He died in the year 1111.

[2] *Cenomannico . . . de Anglis.*] 'A. D. 1073. This year led King William an army English and French over sea, and won the district of Maine.' (Sax. Chron.)

[3] *Apud Dolum . . . desideravit.*] 'King William now went over sea, and led his army to Brittany, and beset the castle of Dol; but the Bretons defended it, until the king came from France; whereupon King William departed thence, having lost there both

tellum transmarinæ Brittanniæ, dum nescio qua simultate irritatus manum illuc militarem duxisset, innumeros ex suis desideravit. Philippum regem Francorum, cujus amitæ filiam uxorem duxerat, semper infidum habuit, quod scilicet ille tantam gloriam viro invideret quem et patris sui et suum [1]hominem esse constaret: sed Willelmus nihilo [2]secius ejus conatibus improbe obviabat, quamvis primogenitus filius ejus Robertus fatuo consilio [3]conatibus ejus assisteret; unde contigit,
A.D. 1079. ut in quodam assultu [4]apud Gibboracum filius patri resultans, eo vulnerato, equum ipsius confoderet, Willelmus medius filiorum saucius abiret, multi ex regiis caderent. Cæterum tota vita ita fortunatus fuit, ut exteræ et remotæ gentes nihil magis quam nomen ejus timerent. Provinciales adeo nutui suo substraverat, ut sine ulla contradictione [5]primus censum omnium capitum ageret, omnium prædiorum redditus in tota Anglia notitiæ suæ per scriptum adjiceret, omnes liberos homines, cujuscunque essent, suæ fidelitati sacramento adigeret. Solus ejus majestatem concutiebat [6]Cnuto rex Danorum, qui et

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men and horses, and many of his treasures.' (Sax. Chron. A.D. 1076.) This event is more correctly attributed by Florence and others to the preceding year.

[1] *Hominem.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

[2] *Secius ejus.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; segnius, *D.*

[3] *Conatibus ejus assisteret.*] *C. D. E. L.*; contra patrem illi assisteret, *A. S.*

[4] *Apud Gibboracum filius patri resultans, eo vulnerato, equum ipsius confoderet.*] 'A. D. 1079. This year Robert fought with his father without Normandy, by a castle called Gerborai, and wounded him in the hand; and the horse that he sat upon was killed under him.' (Sax. Chron.)

[5] *Primus censum . . . adigeret.*] Malmesbury here alludes to that noble and invaluable record Domesday Book, which was printed at the expense of the nation in the year 1783, and has been since so learnedly and ably explained and commented upon by Sir Henry Ellis, principal librarian of the British Museum. Two vols. 8vo. 1833.

[6] *Cnuto.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*; omitted in *E* 1.—Cnut IV. A.D. 1080—1086.

affinitate Roberti Frisonis et suapte potentia in immensum extollebatur; rumore in populos sato quod Angliam invaderet, debitum sibi pro affinitate antiqui Cnutonis solum: et profecto fecisset nisi Deus ejus audaciam vento contrario infirmasset. Quæ res admonuit ut genealogiam regum Danorum qui post nostrum Cnutonem fuere [1]seriatim abbreviem, de Noricis quoque pauca inserturus.

Genealogy of the kings of Denmark.

§ 259. [2]Ei, ut ante dictum est, successit Haroldus in Anglia, Hardecnutus in Danemarchia, filii ejus; nam Noricam, quam subegerat, recuperavit Magnus, filius [3]Olavi quem in gestis [4]Cnutonis dixi a provincialibus suis necatum fuisse. Haroldo in Anglia defuncto, [5]ambo regna tenuit Hardecnutus pauco tempore: quo mortuo successit Edwardus simplex, avitoque regno contentus, transmarinum imperium ut laboriosum et barbarum despuit. [6]Tunc rex Danorum levatus est Swanus quidam, haud dubie nobilissimus; cujus cum regnum aliquot annis prosperaretur, Magnus rex Noricorum (consentientibus Danis quibusdam), illum vi bellica expellens, suo animo terram subjecit. Ejectus Swanus regem Suevorum adiit, ejusque auxilio, cum Suevos et Windelicos et Gothos corrasisset, rediit ut regnum reformaret; sed conspirantibus Danis, qui potestatem Magni diligerent, prioris fortunæ cala-

Hardacnut, A.D. 1035.

Magnus, A.D. 1042.

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[1] *Seriatim.*] *E* 1.; strictim, *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*

[2] *Ei.*] Cnut died, according to Suenon, the Danish historian, on the 12th Nov. 1036: but see p. 316, note [4].

[3] *Olavi quem in gestis Cnutonis dixi.*] § 181, p. 307.

[4] *Cnutonis.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Cnutonis nostri, *S.*

[5] *Ambo regna tenuit Hardecnutus pauco tempore.*] § 188, p. 319.

[6] *Tunc rex Danorum levatus est Swanus quidam.*] Magnus king of Norway succeeded Hardacnut in 1042, but in the following year Sweyn attempted to deprive him of the kingdom of Denmark. Upon the death of Magnus, in 1047, Sweyn obtained the kingdom.

mitatem expertus est. Ingens illud et memorabile in ea barbarie prælium fuit, [1]quo nunquam vel discrimen formidabilius vel omen lætius Dani viderunt. Denique ad hoc tempus votum illibatum custodiunt quo se ante [2]pugnam constrinxerunt ut vigiliam sancti Laurentii cunctis in posterum seculis jejunio et eleemosynis [3]sacrarent. Eo enim die certatum, et tunc quidem Swanus fugit; sed non multo post, mortuo Magno, regnum suum integre recepit.

Sweyn II. A.D. 1047.

Succession of the kings of Norway.

§ 260. Successit Magno in Norica Swanus quidam, Herdhand cognominatus, non de regia progenie, sed manu et caliditate provectus: illi Olavus, patruus Magni (quem sanctum ferunt): Olavo Haroldus Harvagra, frater Olavi, qui etiam imperatori Constantinopolitano dudum juvenis militaverat; cujus jussu pro stupro illustris fœminæ leoni objectus, belluam immanem nudo lacertorum nisu suffocavit. Hic in Anglia ab Haroldo filio [4]Godwini [5]cæsus. Filii ejus, Olavus et Magnus, regnum paternum partiti; sed, Magno præmature mortuo, Olavus totum occupavit. Illi successit filius Magnus, qui nuper in Hibernia, dum temere illuc appulisset, miserabiliter occisus est. Ferunt Magnum superiorem, filium Haroldi, post mortem patris ab Haroldo rege Angliæ clementer domum dimissum, illius beneficii memoria Haroldum filium Haroldi, post victoriam Willelmi ad se venientem, benigne tractasse; eundemque in expeditione socium habuisse quam in Angliam tempore Willelmi junioris

A.D. 1066.

A.D. 1098.

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[1] *Quo.*] *S.*; quod, *A. C. D. E. L.*

[2] *Pugnam.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[3] *Sacrarent.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; consecrarent, *C.*

[4] *Godwini.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

[5] *Cæsus.*] *C. E.*; cæsus est, *A. S. D. L.* See § 228, p. 386.

duxit, quando et Orchadas et [1]Mevanias insulas sibi subjecit, et occurrentes comites, Hugonem Cestrensem et Hugonem Salopesbiriensem, priorem [2]fugit, secundum interemit. Filii ultimi Magni, Hasten et Siwardus, regno adhuc diviso imperitant; quorum posterior, adolescens speciosus et audax, non multum est quod Ierosolymam per Angliam navigavit, innumera et præclara facinora contra Saracenos consummans, præsertim in [3]obsessione Sidonis, quæ pro conscientia Turchorum immania in Christianos fremebat.

§ 261. Sed Swanus in regno Danorum ut dixi restitutus, ægre quietem ferens, in Angliam bis Cnutonem filium misit; primo cum trecentis, secundo cum ducentis navibus. Prioris classis socius fuit Osbernus frater Swani, sequentis [4]Hacco: utrique (accepta pecunia) conatus adolescentis fregere, domum sine effectu repatriantes; quare a Swano rege gravi contumelia inusti, quod fidem pecunia læsissent, in exilium acti sunt. Swanus, ad mortem veniens, omnes juramento provinciales constrinxit ut, quia quatuordecim filios habebat, omnibus per ordinem regnum delegarent, quantum ipsa [5]soboles durare posset. Eo ergo defuncto, successit [6]filius Haroldus annis tribus; illi Cnuto, quem pater in Angliam miserat. Is, veteris repulsæ memor, [7]classem (ut accepimus) mille et eo amplius navium in Angliam parat; auxilio ei erat socer Robertus Friso,

Sweyn II, king of Denmark.

A.D. 1069.

A.D. 1075.

A.D. 1076.

Harald, A.D. 1077.

Cnut IV. A.D. 1080—1086.

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[1] *Mevanias insulas.*] Man and Anglesey.

[2] *Fugit.*] *C. E. L.*; fugavit, *A. S. D.*

[3] *Obsessione.*] *C. D. E. L.*; obsidione, *A. S.*

[4] *Hacco.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 1.; Bacco, *S. L* 2.

[5] *Soboles.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; progenies, *C.*

[6] *Filius.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; filius ejus, *D.*

[7] *Classem.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*—Cnut's meditated invasion may be referred to the year 1085.

sexcentarum [1]ratium dominus: sed, duobus pene annis venti adversitate coercitus, voluntatem mutavit, pronuncians non sine Dei nutu esse quod transfretare nequiret. Verum [2]post modicum quorundam colloquiis depravatus, qui difficultatem transitus anicularum maleficiis imputabant, optimatibus, quarum fœminæ de hoc insimulabantur, pensiones importabiles indixit; Olavum quoque fratrem, factionis ejusdem principem accusatum, vinculis irretivit, et socero in exilium misit: quapropter barbari, libertatis suæ injuriam non ferentes, intra ecclesiam quandam altare amplexum, et emendationem [3]facti promittentem, [4]trucidarunt. Aiunt eo loci multa miracula cœlitus ostensa, quod fuerit vir ille jejuniis et eleemosynis deditus, et qui in legum transgressores magis divinas quam suas persequeretur contumelias; unde et ei martyris honor consecratus est a papa Romano. Post eum homicidæ, ut invidiam facti aliquo bono compensarent, Olavum a vinculis decem millibus marcarum argenti redemerunt. Hic, octo annis ignave imperitans, regnum fratri Henrico reliquit. Is, [5]viginti et novem annis modeste vivens, Ierosolymam [6]abiit, medioque mari spiritum evomuit. [7]Quintus nunc Nicolaus in regno subsistit.

A.D. 1086.

Olaf, A.D. 1086.

Eric I. A.D. 1095.

A.D. 1103.

Nicolas, A.D. 1105.

A.D. 1085.

§ 262. Rex igitur Danorum (ut dixi) solus erat obstaculum ne Willelmus continua feriaretur lætitia, cujus respectu tantam multitudinem sti-

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[1] *Ratium.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; navium, *S.*

[2] *Post modicum.*] *C. D. E.*; postmodum, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Facti.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[4] *Trucidarunt.*] Cnut was murdered in the church of Odensée on the 10th July 1086. Vide Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 228.

[5] *Viginti et novem annis.*] Eric I, after a reign of seven years only, died, on his way to the Holy Land, at Cyprus, on the 11th of July 1103.

[6] *Abiit.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; adiit, *S.*

[7] *Quintus nunc Nicolaus in regno subsistit.*] Nicolas succeeded his brother, after an inter-regnum of two years, A.D. 1105; and was murdered on the 25th June 1135.

pendiariorum conducebat militum ex omni quæ citra montes est provincia, ut eorum copia regnum gravaret; sed ipse, pro magnanimitate sua, dispendium expensarum non sentiens, etiam Hugonem Magnum, regis Francorum fratrem, cum illius commilitio, inter militares numeros sibi serviturum redegerat. Animabat et excitabat ipse virtutem suam propter [1]Roberti Guiscardi memoriam, pronuncians pudendum si illi fortitudine cederet quem nobilitate præiret; siquidem Robertus, [2]mediocri parentela in Normannia ortus, quæ nec humi reperet nec altum quid tumeret, paucis ante adventum Willelmi in Angliam annis, cum quindecim militibus abierat Apuliam, penuriam necessariorum gentis illius ignavæ stipendiis correcturus. Nec multi fluxerunt anni quod, stupendo Dei munere, totam [3]terram in potestatem accepit: nam ubi viribus destituebatur, ingenio callebat; oppida primo, mox civitates, suæ ditioni associans. Ita ergo profecit ut se ducem Apuliæ et Calabriæ, fratrem Ricardum principem Capuæ, alterum Rogerum comitem Siciliæ, faceret. Postremo, data Apulia filio Rogero, cum altero filio Boamundo Adriaticum pelagus transivit; statimque [4]Dira-

Robert Guiscard, A.D. 1020—1085.

A.D. 1060.

A.D. 1082.

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[1] *Roberti Guiscardi.*] The birth, character, and first actions of Robert Guiscard may be found in Jeffrey Malaterra (lib. I. cap. 3, 4, 11, 16, 17, 18, 38, 39, 40), William Apulus (lib. II. pp. 260—262), William of Jumiéges, (lib. XI. c. 30, pp. 663, 664; edit. Camden), and Anna Comnena (Alexiad. lib. I. pp. 23—27; lib. VI. p. 165), with the annotations of Du Cange (note in Alexiad. pp. 230—232, 320), who has swept all the French and Latin chronicles for supplemental intelligence. (Gibbon, Dec. Rom. Emp. VII. 217.)

[2] *Mediocri parentela in Normannia.*] The pedigree of Robert Guiscard is variously deduced from the peasants and dukes of Normandy. His genuine descent may be ascribed to the second or middle order of private nobility. He sprang from a race of *valvassors*, or *bannerets*, of the diocess of Coutances in Lower Normandy. (*Ibid.*)

[3] *Terram.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; terram illam, *C.*

[4] *Dirachio capto.*] Durazzo was taken on the 8th Feb. 1082.

chio capto, super Alexium imperatorem Constantinopolitanum ulterius progrediebatur: sævientem retinuit nuncius Hildebrandi apostolici. Imperator enim Alamannorum [1]Henricus, filius Henrici [2]de quo supra memoravimus, iratus contra papam quod excommunicationem in eum propter investituras ecclesiarum promulgaverat, cum exercitu veniens, [3]Romam obsedit, Hildebrandum expulit, Guibertum Ravennantem introduxit. Quo per literas expulsi Guiscardus audito, relicto filio Boamundo cum militibus ut inchoata paterna persequeretur, Apuliam rediit: contracta velociter Apulorum et Normannorum manu, Romam tendebat. Nec sustinuit nuncium advenientis Henricus, quin cum falso papa, sola fama territus, terga [4]daret. Vacua ab obsessoribus, Roma legitimum præsulem accepit; sed non multo post, eadem violentia qua prius, amisit. Tunc quoque Alexius, audiens Robertum ad sua necessario revocatum, summamque manum bello imponere sperans, supra Boamundum, qui partes relictas tuebatur, [5]irruit; sed Normannus, gentilitii roboris tenax adolescens, arietantes Græcos, et cæteras quæ convenerant gentes, usu militari, quamvis multum numero inferior, fugæ tradidit. Eodem quoque tempore Veneti, gens mari assueta, Guiscardum, propter quæ venerat sedatis, transfretare volentem aggressi, superiorem calamitatem sensere; pars mersi et cæsi, pars fugati. Ille, cœptam enavigans viam, multas civitates Alexii suæ voluntati

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[1] *Henricus, filius Henrici.*] Henry IV.

[2] *De quo supra memoravimus.*] § 189, p. 322, et seq.

[3] *Romam obsedit.*] Rome was besieged by Henry in the years 1081 and 1084.

[4] *Daret.*] *S. D.*; damnaret, *A. C. E. L.*

[5] *Irruit.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; venit, *C.*

applicuit. Sustulit imperator maleficio quem virtute [1]nequibat, uxori ipsius connubium augustale mentitus: cujus insidiis elaboratum [2]virus hauriens interiit, meliorem exitum, si Deus voluisset, emeritus; invincibilis hostili ferro, et domestico obnoxius veneno. [3]Sepultus est apud Venusam Apuliæ, [4]habens epitaphium:

'Hic terror mundi Guiscardus; hic expulit urbe
Quem Ligures regem, Roma, Lemannus, habent.
Parthus, Arabs, Macedumque phalanx non texit Alexin,
At fuga; sed Venetum nec fuga nec pelagus.'

[5]DE HILDEBRANDO PAPA.

Hildebrand, or Pope Gregory VII.

§ 263. Verum, quia Hildebrandi mentio se ingessit, de eo dicam quæ non frivolo auditu hausi, sed seria relatione ejus audivi qui se illa ex ore Hugonis abbatis Cluniacensis audisse juraret. [6]Quem ideo admiror et prædico, quia cogitationes aliorum prophetico mentis intuitu pronunciabat. Alexander [7]eum papa efficax, ipsius studium con-

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[1] *Nequibat.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; non poterat, *C.*

[2] *Virus hauriens interiit.*] The most authentic writers, William of Apulia (lib. v. p. 277), Jeffrey Malaterra (lib. III. c. 41, p. 589), and Romuald de Salerno (Chron. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. VII.) are ignorant of this accusation. Hoveden, moreover, (p. 710, in Script. post Bedam,) who follows Malmesbury, adds that Alexis married, crowned, and then burnt alive his female accomplice. (See Gibb. Dec. Rom. Emp. VII. 247.)

[3] *Sepultus est apud Venusam Apuliæ.*] He died (17th July 1085) in the isle of Cephalonia, in his tent. The galley which transported the remains of Guiscard was shipwrecked on the Italian shore; but his body was recovered from the sea, and deposited in the sepulchre of Venusia, a place illustrious for the birth of Horace. (*Ibid.*)

[4] *Habens epitaphium.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; hoc habens epitaphium, *D.*

[5] *De Hildebrando papa.*] The Lives of Gregory VII. are either legends or invectives (St. Marc, Abrégé, tom. III. p. 235, &c.) and his miraculous or magical performances are alike incredible to a modern reader.

[6] *Quem.*] *E* 1.; quæ, *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*

[7] *Eum.*] *E.*; omitted in *A. S. D. L.*; enim, *C.*

spicatus, cancellis apostolorum præfecerat. Circumibat ergo pro sui contuitu officii provincias, ut perperam acta corrigeret. Accurrebatur ab [1]omnium ordinum hominibus, decisiones diversorum negotiorum postulantibus. Cuncta [2]ei submittebatur secularis potentia, tum pro sanctitatis, tum pro ministerii ipsius reverentia. Unde die quadam, cum solito major [3]adequitantum esset turma, abbas prædictus in extremo agmine cum monachis suis sensim progrediebatur; visoque eminus tanto viri honore, quod tot mundanæ potestates nutum illius præstolarentur, hujuscemodi sententias ventilabat animo: Homuncionem exilis staturæ, despicabilis parentēlæ, quo Dei judicio tot divitum sepiri famulitio? tumere illum proculdubio, et metiri altiora merito, pro tot obambulatorum obsequio. Vix hæc (ut dixi) mente versarat, cum archidiaconus, reflexo equo et calcaribus incito, a longe clamans et abbatem obuncans, 'Tu, tu,' (inquit,) 'male cogitasti, falso infamans hujusce duntaxat rei innocentem: non enim mihi hanc gloriam, si gloria dici potest quæ cito transit, vel ego imputo vel ab aliis imputari volo, sed beatis apostolis, quorum exhibetur privilegio.' Suffusus ille pudore, nec quicquam inficiari ausus, hoc solum retulit: 'Quæso, domine, quomodo nosti cogitatum meum, quem nulli communicavi?' 'Ab ore' (ait) 'tuo, quasi per fistulas, ad aures meas omnis illa cogitatio deducta est.'

§ 264. Item in eadem provincia ecclesiam urbanam ingressi, ante aram continuatis et junctis lateribus se prostraverant. In multam horam

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[1] *Omnium.*] *C. D. E.*; omnibus, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Ei submittebatur secularis.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L* 1.; eis submittebatur secularibus, *L* 2.

[3] *Adequitantum.*] *D. E.*; adequitandum, *A. S. C. L.*

protracta oratione, respexit archidiaconus abbatem, turbulento rictu infrendens: ille, cum diutius oratum esset, fores egressus, causamque commotionis percunctatus, responsum accepit: 'Si me amare vis, cave ne ulterius hac me injuria [1]expungas. Dominus meus [2]Jesus, speciosus ille præ filiis hominum, postulationibus meis visibiliter astabat, intendens dictis, et serenis favens oculis; sed, tuæ orationis addictus violentia, me deseruit, ad te conversus: puto quod tu ipse non diffiteberis esse genus injuriæ si amico eripias auctorem salutis suæ. Præterea prænoveris mortalitatem hominum, et huic loco imminere excidium; cujus conjecturæ signum habeo, quod angelum Domini super altare stantem vidi evaginatum gladium stringere, et huc illucque rotare. Futuræ cladis notabilius habeo indicium, quod jam spissus et nebulosus aer provinciam istam circumvolat, ut vides. Maturemus ergo profugium, nisi cum aliis velimus subire exitium.' His dictis introeuntes diversorium, ad curam corporis assedere; continuoque dapibus appositis, exortus in domo luctus aviditatem esurientium repressit, siquidem unus et alter, et mox plures e familia, dubium qua pernicie [3]intercepti, animas subito amisere. Tum eadem peste per vicinas ædes grassante, ascensis mulis diffugiunt, festinationem viæ stimulis [4]timoris accelerantes.

DE EPISCOPO PER SIMONIAM INTRODUCTO.

§ 265. In Gallia [5]vicepapa præsederat concilio; ibi plures episcopi, olim per simoniam in

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[1] *Expungas.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; expugnes, *S.*

[2] *Jesus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Jesus Christus, *S.*

[3] *Intercepti.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; interempti, *S.*

[4] *Timoris.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[5] *Vicepapa.*] *C. E.*; vice papæ, *A. S. D. L.*

ecclesias introducti, degradati, potioribus locum dedere. Unus erat quem suspicio istius apostasiæ insimulabat, sed nullis testibus argui, nullis argumentis confutari poterat: quem cum putares constrictum maxime, more anguis lubrici elapsum mirareris; ita dicendi arte callebat ut omnes eluderet. Tunc archidiaconus: 'Cesset hominum eloquium, producatur in medium divinum oraculum: scimus profecto quod episcopalis gratia Sancti Spiritus munus est; et quisquis episcopatum mercatur, Spiritus Sancti donum posse comparari pecunia opinatur. Coram nobis ergo, qui judicio Sancti Spiritus congregati sumus, dicat iste, "Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto;" quod si expresse et sine titubantia dixerit, constabit apud me non illum venaliter, sed legitime, præsulatu functum.' Libens hanc conditionem ille accepit, nihil minus quam horum verborum difficultatem ratus; et certe 'Gloria Patri, et Filio,' integre protulit, sed in 'Spiritu Sancto' hæsit. Suscitato cunctorum strepitu, nullo conatu, vel tunc vel in vitæ reliquo spatio, Spiritum Sanctum nominare potuit. Hujus miraculi testis fuit abbas sæpe nominatus, qui, dejectum episcopum per loca secum ducens, illius rei experimentum sæpe risit; de cujus verborum certitudine dubitantem omnis Europa confutat, quæ religionis Cluniacensis numerum per eum augmentatum non nescit.

§ 266. Alexandro ergo defuncto, successit Hildebrandus ([1] Gregorius septimus dictus). Hic quod alii [2] mussitaverant palam extulit, excommunicans electos qui investituras ecclesiarum de manu laici per annulum et baculum acciperent;

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[1] *Gregorius septimus dictus.*] He was elected pope 22nd April 1073, and died 25th May 1085.

[2] *Mussitaverant.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; inusitaverant, *S.*

unde Henricus imperator Alamannorum fremens, quod sine sua conscientia [1]electus talia præsumeret, illum (ut prædixi) post undecim annos Roma deturbavit, Guiberto inducto. Nec multo post lethali papa morbo ictus, quo se moriturum non ambigeret, rogatus est a cardinalibus ut papam constitueret, beati Petri exemplum referentibus, qui, lactentis ecclesiæ rudimentis, vivens Clementem præfecerat. Negavit ille [2]id se exemplum secuturum, quod ab antiquo conciliis esset vetitum: consilium vero daturum, si vellent hominem in seculo potentem, eligerent Desiderium abbatem [3]Cassinensem, qui salubriter et in tempore numero militari violentiam Guiberti infringeret; sin ecclesiasticum et eloquentem, acciperent episcopum Hostiensem Odonem. Ita obiit vir apud Deum felicis gratiæ, et apud homines austeritatis fortassis nimiæ. Denique fertur quod, inter eum et imperatorem primi tumultus initio, [4]illum nudipedem, et forcipes cum scopis portantem, nec etiam foribus admiserit; abominatus hominem [5]sacrilegum, et sororii incesti reum. Abscessit Cæsar exclusus, repulsam illam multorum necis causam protestans. Statimque quæcunque posset incommoda Romanæ sedi infligens, e diverso fautores papæ in tyrannidem excitavit; siquidem rebellante quodam Radulfo, jussu ipsius apostolici, qui ei coronam

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[1] *Electus.*] *C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *A. S.*

[2] *Id se.*] *C. D. E. L.*; idem, *A. S.*

[3] *Cassinensem.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; Cassiorensem, *C.*

[4] *Illum nudipedem, et forcipes cum scopis portantem.*] Mr. Sharpe observes that this seems intended to denote his absolute submission, and willingness to undergo any kind of penance which might be enjoined him. Sometimes excommunicated persons wore a halter about their necks; sometimes they were shorn or scourged prior to receiving absolution. V. Basnage, Pref. in Canisium, pp. 69, 70.

[5] *Sacrilegum.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; sacrilegum ut ferebatur, *D.*

ex parte apostolorum miserat, bellorum fragoribus undique conflictatus est: sed ille, semper adversis superior, et illum et cæteros improbe assurgentes tandem oppressit. Postremo non aliorum impetu, sed domestico [1]filii odio extrusus imperio, miserabilem vitæ terminum habuit. Successit Hildebrando Desiderius, Victor appellatus; sed ad primam missam, incertum quo discrimine, cecidit exanimatus, calice (si dignum est credere) veneno infecto. Tunc in Odonem declinavit electio: is natione Gallus, primum Remensis archidiaconus, inde prior [2]Cluniacensis, mox episcopus Hostiæ, ultimo papa Romæ, Urbanus vocatus est.

A.D. 1086.

A.D. 1088.

Character of William.

§ 267. Hactenus circumvagari licuerit, dum occasione gestorum Willelmi quædam succurrebant quæ prætermittenda non putabam: nunc familiarem ejus vitam, et mores interiores, lector qui volet audiet. Inprimis, [3]Dei famulis humilis, subjectis facilis, in rebelles inexorabilis erat. Religionem Christianam, quantum secularis [4]poterat, ita frequentabat, ut quotidie missæ assisteret, [5]quotidie vespertinos et matutinos hymnos audiret. Monasteria, unum in Anglia, alterum in Normannia, construxit. Primum [6]Cado-

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[1] *Filii.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; filiorum, *S.*

[2] *Cluniacensis.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 1. *L.*; Duniacensis, *E* 2.

[3] *Dei.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

[4] *Poterat.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; potentiæ, *C.*

[5] *Quotidie.*] *C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *A. S.*

[6] *Cadomis.*] 'Vulgo Caen. Ridicule igitur Britto et quidam alii putant, Cadomum Caii domum a Caio Julio Cæsare dictam fuisse. Cadomensibus *feriam trium dierum*, id est nundinas triduanas, concessit Willielmus Conquæstor, ut patebit infra ex ejusdem litteris.' (Note in Bouq. XI. p. 188.) The abbey of St. Stephen's, Caen, is stated to have been completed in 1064, but when it was dedicated is not accurately known: some fix the dedication in 1073, others in 1081, and Orderic in 1077. There was, however, a foundation charter granted subsequently to 1066, for in it William styles himself king.

mis, quod sancto Stephano consecravit, opportunis prædiis et magnificentissimis donariis insignitum, ubi et Lanfrancum abbatem, post etiam Cantuariæ archiepiscopum, instituit: virum antiquis scientia et religione comparandum, de quo serio dici potest, 'Tertius e cœlo cecidit Cato;' adeo cœlestis sapor pectus ejus et palatum infecerat; adeo Latinitas omnis in liberalium artium scientiam, per doctrinam ejus, se incitabat; adeo, ipsius exemplo vel metu, professio monastica in religione sudabat. Non tunc episcoporum ambitus, non tunc abbatum venalitas proficiebat: ille majoris gloriæ, amplioris gratiæ apud regem et archiepiscopum erat, qui tenacioris sanctitudinis opinionem habebat. Alterum monasterium Hastingis [1] ædificavit sancto Martino, quod cognominatur De Bello, quia in eo loco principalis ecclesia cernitur ubi inter consertos cadaverum acervos Haroldus inventus fuisse memoratur. Pene puer, et [2] maturiora ætate sapiens, patruum suum Malgerium ab archiepiscopatu Rotomagensi removit. Is erat literis quidem non mediocriter cultus; sed, pro natalium conscientia professionis oblitus, venationibus et avium certaminibus sæpius justo [3] intendebat, et gazas ecclesiasticas conviviis profusioribus insumebat: cujus rei fama crebrescente, tota vita pallii usu caruit, quod negaret sedes apostolica honoris hujusce privilegium homini qui sacratum negligebat officium. Unde crebro conventus, expostulante nepote patruelis offensas, cum nihilo re-

Malgerius, archbishop of Rouen.

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[1] *Ædificavit.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; construxit, *C.* — Although William the Conqueror founded and endowed Battle Abbey, yet the church, according to Florence, was not dedicated till 1094, when William Rufus stopped at Hastings on his way to Normandy.

[2] *Maturiora.*] *A. C. E. L.*; maturi, *D.*; maturiore, *S.*

[3] *Intendebat.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; incumbebat, *C.*

verentius se ageret, cogente ultima necessitate degradatus est. Ferunt quidam esse arcanam depositionis causam; Matildem, quam Willelmus acceperat, proximam sibi sanguine fuisse. Id, Christianæ fidei zelo, Malgerium non tulisse, ut consanguineo cubili fruerentur; sed in nepotem et comparem excommunicationis jaculum intentasse. Ita cum iræ adolescentis uxoriæ querelæ accederent, excogitatas occasiones quibus persecutor peccati sede pelleretur: sed postmodum provectioribus annis, pro expiatione sceleris, illum sancto Stephano Cadomis monasterium ædificasse, [1]illam beatæ Trinitati in eodem vico idem fecisse; utroque pro sexu suo personas inhabitantium eligente.

Maurilius. § 268. Malgerio successit Maurilius, Fiscannensis monachus, multis virtutibus sed maxime abstinentia laudatus. Is post bene et sancte actam vitam, cum ad extremum Deo vocante venisset, vitali privatus [2]halitu ferme dimidia die jacuit defunctus; veruntamen, cum jam pararetur in ecclesiam ferri, anima resumpta circumstantes lachrymabili gaudio perfudit. Stupentes hoc sermone corroborat: 'Attenti animo estote, ultima pastoris vestri verba excipientes. Naturali morte resolutus fui, sed, ut vobis intimarem quæ vidi, reductus sum; nec aliquanto diutius subsistam, quia in Domino soporari delectat. Ductores spiritus mei vultibus et vestibus ad omnem elegantiam erant compositi; concordabat verborum lenitas cum nitore ves-

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[1] *Illam beatæ Trinitati.*] The convent of the Holy Trinity was founded by Matilda in 1066, and its church dedicated on the 18th of June in that year. Duke William on the same day, presenting at the altar his infant daughter Cecilia, devoted her to the service of God in this monastery, where she became the second abbess.

[2] *Halitu.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; anhelitu, *D.*

tium, ut nihil desiderarem præter talium virorum obsequium. Itaque blandis assentationibus gavisus, ibam, ut vere mihi videbatur, versus orientem: promittebatur mihi sedes paradisiaca, non multo post intranda. In momento præterita Europa, ingressi Asiam, venimus Ierosolymam; ibi sanctis adoratis, Jordanem pertendimus; citerioris ripæ accolæ, ductorum meorum contubernio mixti, lætum cœtum fecere. Ego, visendi ulteriora studio, transitum maturabam. Tunc comites Deum præcepisse referunt ut ante dæmonum visione terrificarer, quatenus veniales culpæ, quas confessione non dilueram, pavore horrendarum formarum purgarentur. Cum dicto astitit alteri parti tanta dæmonum vis, hastilia acuta vibrantium, ignes efflantium, ut ager ferreus, aer flammeus videretur. Eorum [1]horrore ita sum affectus, ut si terra dehisceret, si cœlum patesceret, tuto mihi utrobique refugiendum non æstimarem. Ita meticulosus, dum quo evadam dubito, repente (ut hæc dicens vestræ saluti nisi negligitis consulerem) [2]halitum recepi, confestim effusurus.' Dixit, et cum verbo pene spiritum emisit. Corpus, in ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ tunc humi defossum, miraculo [3]modo (ut aiunt) divino altius tribus pedibus super terram elevatum est.

§ 269. Porro Willelmus, propositi quod in Normannia cœperat tenax, Stigandum, perperam et falso archiepiscopum, per cardinales Romanos, et Ermenfredum episcopum Sedunensem, deponi passus est. Successit ei in Wintonia [4]Walke- Ecclesiastical affairs, A.D. 1070.

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[1] *Horrore.*] *S. C. D. E.*; horrorum, *A. L.*

[2] *Halitum.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; anhelitum, *D.*

[3] *Modo.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[4] *Walkelinus.*] Glossed in *L* 1. 'Walkelinus, de quo alibi scribitur quod abstulit monachis trescentas libratas terræ, et eas tam usibus suis quam successorum suorum dampnabiliter applicuit.'

linus; cujus bona opera, famam vincentia, vetustatem oblivionis a se repellent quamdiu ibi sedes episcopalis durabit: in Cantia Lanfrancus (de quo supra dixi), qui talis Angliæ Dei dono [1]emicuit,

'Qualis discutiens fugientia Lucifer astra,
Cum roseo clarum provehit ore diem;'

ita ipsius industria monasticum germen effloruit, ita eo vivente vigor pontificalis induruit. Ejus consilio rex pronum se fecerat, ut nihil negandum duceret quod is faciendum diceret. Ipsius etiam impulsu ambitum nebulonum fregerat, qui consueto more mancipia sua Hiberniam venditabant: cujus facti præconium cui potius imputem, Lanfranco an Wulstano Wigorniæ antistiti, pro vero non discerno, qui regem, pro commodo venalitatis quod sibi pensitabatur, renitentem vix ad hoc coegerint, nisi quod Lanfrancus laudaverit Wulstanus præceperit, auctoritate episcopali pro conscientia sanctitatis abunde exuberans; homo quo nullus unquam justior, nullus nostro seculo par illi apparuerit miraculorum potentia et prophetali gratia, quorum aliqua intendo dicere posterius si tamen sanctissimis illius placuerit sensibus.

A.D. 1063. § 270. Veruntamen, quia alea fortunæ incertis jactibus volvitur, multa tunc [2]tempore adversa pervenere. [3]Fœda inter abbatem Glastoniæ et monachos ejus discordia, ita ut post verborum lites ad arma ventum sit. Coacti ergo intra ec-

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[1] *Emicuit.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; apparuit, *C.*

[2] *Tempore.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; temporis, *S.*

[3] *Fœda . . . discordia.*] This disgraceful contention happened in the year 1083. It seems to have arisen from the abbot (Thurstan) attempting to introduce a new chant, brought from Fescamp, instead of the Gregorian, to which the monks had been accustomed.

clesiam monachi, sancto altari miserias suas [1] ingemebant; sed irrumpentibus militibus, duo ex eis interfecti, quatuordecim vulnerati, cæteri repulsi, nam et furor militum etiam crucifixum sagittis inhorrere fecerat. Hujus noxæ crimine infamatus abbas, tota vita regis exilio deportatus est; eoque defuncto, pro redemptione peccati auxiliaribus annumerata pecunia, honori restitutus est.

Murder of Walkerius bishop of Durham, A.D. 1080.

§ 271. Miserabilis et infanda cædes [2] Walkerii Dunelmensis episcopi, quem Northanhimbri populus, semper rebellioni deditus, abjecto sacrorum ordinum respectu, multis impetitum convitiis trucidarunt. Fusus ibi non paucus numerus Lotharingorum, quod præsul ipse nationis ejus erat. Causa cædis hæc fuit: erat episcopus, præter pontificatum, [3] custos totius comitatus; præfeceratque rebus forensibus Gislebertum cognatum, interioribus Leobinum clericum, ambos in rebus commissis strenuos sed effrænes. Tolerabat episcopus eorum immodestiam, gratia strenuitatis inductus; et, quia eos elevarat, cumulum benignitatis augebat. Indulget enim natura sibi, placidoque favore suis arridet ipsa muneribus. Is Leobinus Liulfum, beatissimi Cuthberti ministrum, adeo dilectum ut ipse sanctus coram vigilanti assistens placita imperaret,—hunc, inquam, Liulfum per Gislebertum obtruncari fecit, livore ictus quod amplioris amicitiæ locum apud pontificem, pro conscientia et æquitate judiciorum, haberet. Perculsus nuncio

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[1] *Ingemebant.*] *C. D. E.*; applorabant, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Walkerii Dunelmensis episcopi.*] Bishop Walkerius was murdered on the 1st of May 1080.

[3] *Custos totius comitatus.*] The bishops of Durham were palatinate lords, and had in the county of Durham 'regalem potestatem in omnibus' as fully as the king had in his palace. (Bract. lib. III. c. 8, § 4.)

Walkerius, furenti parentelæ defuncti [1]legalis placiti judicium opposuit, protestatus Leobinum suæ suorumque necis auctorem. Ubi ventum ad placitum, nullis effera gens rationibus emolliri potuit quin in episcopum referret culpam, quod ambos homicidas in curia ejus post necem Liulfi familiariter diversatos vidissent. Surrectum ergo in clamores et iras; et Gislebertus de ecclesia, in qua cum episcopo sederat, ultro egrediens, ut suo periculo vitam domini mercaretur, impie occisus. Tum præsul, præ januis pacem prætentō ramo offerens, rabiem vulgi explevit interemtus: fomes etiam mali Leobinus semiustulatus, quod nisi ecclesia cremata exire nolebat, exiliens mille lanceis exceptus est. Prædictum id ab Edgitha relicta regis Edwardi; nam cum olim Walkerium vidisset Wintoniæ ad consecrandum duci, cæsarie lacteolum, vultu roseum, statura prægrandem, 'Pulchrum hic,' ait, 'martyrem habemus,' conjectura videlicet immodestæ nationis ad præsagiendum inducta. Successit ei [2]Willelmus abbas sancti Carilefi, qui monachos in Dunelmo posuit.

A.D. 1082.

Remarkable occurrences.

§ 272. Præterea, anno antequam moriretur proximo, mortalitas hominum et jumentorum, vis tempestatum frequens, violentia fulgurum, quantam nemo viderat, nemo audierat. Illo quoque anno quo obiit, promiscua febris plusquam dimidiam partem plebis depasta, adeo ut plures incommoditas morbi extingueret; deinde, pro intemperie aeris, fames subsecuta vulgo ir-

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[1] *Legalis placiti judicium opposuit.*] Walkerius offered to purge himself by oath from all participation in the murder. (Flor. Wigorn. A.D. 1080.)

[2] *Willelmus abbas sancti Carilefi.*] William de Karilepho, consecrated bishop of Durham Jan. 3, 1082, held the office of chief justice of England under William the Conqueror. He was driven from his see for a considerable time by William Rufus, and died Jan. 6, 1095.

repsit, ut quod febribus erat reliquum ipsa corriperet.

§ 273. Præter cæteras virtutes, præcipue in prima adolescentia castitatem suspexit, in tantum ut publice sereretur nihil illum in fœmina posse; veruntamen, ex procerum sententia matrimonio addictus, ita se egit ut pluribus annis nullius probri suspicione notaretur. Tulit ex Matilde liberos multos, quæ, et marito morigera et prole fœcunda, nobilis viri animum in sui amoris incitabat aculeum: quanquam non desint qui ganniant eum cœlibatui antiquo renunciasse cum regia potestas accrevisset, volutatum cum cujusdam presbyteri filia, quam per satellitem succiso poplite Matildis sustulerit; quapropter illum exhæredatum, illam ad mortem fræno equi cæsam. [1]Sed hæc de tanto rege credere dementiæ ascribo; hoc constanter asseverans, quod aliquantula simultas inter eos innata extremis annis fuerit pro Roberto filio, cui mater militarem manum ex fisci redditibus sufficere dicebatur: verum propter hoc nihil conjugalis gratiæ diminutum ipse ostendit, dum quatuor annis ante se defunctam, et magnificentissimis inferiis extulit, et, lachrymis per multos dies ubertim prosecutus, amissæ charitatem desideraverit, quin et ex eo tempore, si credimus, ab omni voluptate descivit. [2]Sepulta est regina Cadomis in mo-

Character of William resumed.

A.D. 1083.

[1] *Sed hæc ... ascribo.*] 'Stultum igitur ac omnino fabulosum hac in parte est chronicon Normanniæ, dum id monstri fert, et illud ipsum contra scriptorum æqualium auctoritatem exhibet tanquam occasionem constructionis duarum Cadomi abbatiarum. Vide Apologiam Willelmi, quam dominus noster Matthæus de la Dangie de Rauchie, cellerarius abbatiæ S. Stephani Cadomensis, ibidem edidit in 8°.' (Note in Bouq. XI. p. 188.)

[2] *Sepulta est regina Cadomis in monasterio sanctæ Trinitatis.*] Matilda died 2nd Nov. 1083. She bequeathed to this monastery her crown, sceptre, and ornaments of state. A copy of her will may be seen in the Essais Historiques, by the Abbé de la Rue, tom. II. p. 437.

nasterio sanctæ Trinitatis. Ejusdem pietatis indicium in [1] Edgithæ reginæ funere curando non minus fuit, quæ, apud Westmonasterium studio ejus prope conjugem locata, habet tumbam argenti aurique expensis operosam.

His sons. § 274. Filios habuit, Robertum, Ricardum, Willelmum, Henricum. Posteriores duo post eum successione continua [2] in Anglia regnavere. Robertus, patre adhuc vivente, Normanniam sibi negari ægre ferens, in Italiam obstinatus abiit, ut, filia Bonifacii marchionis sumpta, patri partibus illis adjutus adversaretur: sed, petitionis hujusce cassus, Philippum Francorum regem contra patrem excitavit; quare et genitoris benedictione et hæreditate frustratus, Anglia post mortem ejus caruit, comitatu Normanniæ vix retento. Ea quoque post novem annos fratri
A.D. 1096. Willelmo [3] pro pecunia invadata, Asiaticam expeditionem cum cæteris Christianis aggressus est; inde, transactis quatuor annis, clarus militiæ
A.D. 1100. gestis regressus, [4] Normanniæ sine difficultate immersit, quod, germano Willelmo nuper defuncto, Henricus rex, novitate tener, Angliam in fide tenere satis habuit: sed quia de hoc alias dicendum, nunc cœptam de filiis Willelmi magni narrationem terminabo.

§ 275. Ricardus magnanimo parenti spem lau-

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[1] *Edgithæ reginæ.*] The queen of Eadward the Confessor. 'This year (1075) died the lady Eadgithe, who was the relict of King Eadward, seven nights before Christmas, at Winchester; and the king caused her to be brought to Westminster with great pomp, and he laid her with King Eadward her lord.' (Sax. Chron.)

[2] *In Anglia.*] *S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[3] *Pro pecunia invadata.*] Robert mortgaged Normandy to his brother in 1096 for the trifling sum of ten thousand marks.

[4] *Normanniæ sine difficultate immersit.*] 'During the harvest time of this year (1100) came the Earl Robert home into Normandy . . . and he was there joyfully received by all his people.' (Sax. Chron.)

dis alebat, puer delicatus; ut id ætatulæ pusio, altum quid spirans. Sed tantam primævi floris indolem mors acerba cito depasta corrupit; [1]tradunt cervos in Nova Foresta terebrantem, tabidi aeris nebula morbum incurrisse. Locus est quem Willelmus pater, [2]subrutis ecclesiis, desertis villis, per triginta et eo amplius milliaria in saltus et lustra ferarum redegerat. [3]Ibi libenter ævum exigere, ibi plurimis omitto quod diebus, certe mensibus, venationes exercere gaudebat. Ibi multa regio generi contigere infortunia, quæ habitatorum præsens audire volentibus suggerit memoria: nam postmodum in eadem silva Willelmus filius ejus, et nepos Ricardus filius Roberti comitis Normanniæ, mortem offenderint; severo Dei judicio ille sagitta pectus, iste collum trajectus, vel, ut quidam dicunt, arboris ramusculo equo pertranseunte fauces appensus.

His daughters.

§ 276. Filiæ ipsius fuerunt quinque: [4]Cecilia, Cadomensis abbatissa, [5]vivit; altera, Constantia, comiti Brittanniæ Alano Fergant in conjugium data, austeritate justitiæ provinciales in mortife-

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[1] *Tradunt cervos ... incurrisse.*] Some historians relate that he died from the wounds he received from the goring of a stag's horns about three years before his father's decease. Malmesbury's account, however, is probably the truest. Richard was buried at Winchester, and his epitaph styles him Beorniæ dux. (Sand. Geneal. Hist. fol. 1707.)

[2] *Subrutis ecclesiis.*] *A. S. D. L.*; omitted in *C. E. K.*

[3] *Ibi libenter ... nam postmodum.*] *C. D. E. K.*; infando prorsus spectaculo, ut ubi ante vel humana conversatio vel divina veneratio fervebat, nunc ibi cervi et capreoli, et cæteræ illud genus bestiæ petulanter discursitent, nec illæ quidem mortalium usibus communiter expositæ. Unde pro vero asseritur quod, *A. S. G. H. L.*

[4] *Cecilia.*] *C. D. E. L.*; prima Cecilia, *A. S.*—'Baldricus Burgul. in versibus inscriptis *Cæciliæ regis Anglorum filiæ*, meminit sororis quam Cæcilia secum in monasterium traxerat: sic enim habet:

Audivi quamdam te detinuisse sororem,
Cujus fama meas aliquando perculit aures.
Nomen it elapsum, vidisse tamen reminiscor.'

(Note in Bouq. XI. 189.)

[5] *Vivit.*] *C. E. L.*; quæ vivit, *A. S. D.*

ram sibi potionem exacuit; tertia, Adala, Stephani Blesensis comitis uxor, laudatæ in seculo potentiæ virago, noviter apud Marcenniacum sanctimonialis habitum sumpsit. [1]Duarum [2]nomina exciderunt: unius, quæ Haroldo ([3]ut diximus) promissa, infra maturos conjugii annos obiit; alterius, quæ Aldefonso Galliciæ regi per nuncios jurata, virgineam mortem impetravit a Deo. Repertus in defunctæ genibus callus, crebrarum ejus orationum index est.

His brothers. § 277. Patris memoriam quantis poterat occasionibus extollens, [4]ossa, olim Niceæ condita, sub extremo vitæ tempore per legatum transferebat; sed ille prospere rediens, audita morte Willelmi, apud Apuliam resedit, sepultis ibi illustris viri exuviis. Matrem quantum vixit insigni indulgentia dignatus est; quæ, ante patris obitum, cuidam Herlewino de Comitisvilla, mediocrium opum viro, nupserat. Ex eo Willelmus fratres habuit: [5]Robertum, quem comitem Moritonii fecit, crassi et hebetis ingenii hominem; [6]Odonem, quem ad episcopatum Baiocensem provexit co-

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[1] *Duarum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; duarum aliarum, *S.*

[2] *Nomina exciderunt.*] The names of William the Conqueror's five daughters, as given by Ordericus Vitalis (lib. IV. 512), were Agatha, Constantia, Adeliza, Adela, and Cecilia. William of Jumiéges states that Adeliza was betrothed to Harold: 'Deinde dux, postquam Heraldus fidelitatem sibi de regno pluribus sacramentis firmavit, Adelizam, filiam suam, cum medietate Anglici regni se daturum eidem spopondit.' (lib. VI. c. 31.) Later historians speak of Margaret and Elianor; the former as being betrothed to Harold, the other to Alfonso VI. king of Leon. See Hayward's Lives, p. 128; Tyrrel, Hist. Engl. II. 61; and Lytt. Hen. II. vol. I. p. 356.

[3] *Ut diximus.*] § 228, p. 384.

[4] *Ossa.*] *A. S. C. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.; Willelmus ossa patris sui, *D.*

[5] *Robertum.*] Robert, soon after the Conquest, was advanced to the earldom of Cornwall, and had extensive possessions in almost every county conferred upon him by his uterine brother. He died in 1091.

[6] *Odonem.*] Odo became bishop of Baieux in 1049, and was made earl of Kent in 1067: he died at Palermo on his way to the Holy Land in 1097.

mes, comitem Cantiæ rex instituit. Callidioris pectoris ille totius Angliæ vicedominus sub rege fuit, post necem Willelmi filii Osberni. Itaque in aggerandis thesauris mirus, tergiversari miræ [1]astutiæ, pene papatum Romanum absens a civibus mercatus fuerat; peras peregrinorum epistolis et nummis infarciens. Cujus futuri itineris opinione cum certatim ex toto regno ad eum milites concurrerent, rex indigne ferens, compedibus irretivit; præfatus non se Baiocarum episcopum, sed comitem Cantiæ prendere. Clientes ejus, minis impulsi, tantam auri copiam prodidere, ut nostri seculi æstimationem superaret fulvi congeries metalli; denique et cullei plures e fluviis extracti, quos per certa loca, sublatis consciis, infoderat, plenos auro molito. Post mortem fratris absolutus, nepotique Willelmo adversatus, partem Roberti fovebat; sed tunc quoque male cedente fortuna, extorris Anglia, Normannico nepoti et episcopatui insistebat. Deinde cum eodem Ierosolymitanam viam ingressus, Antiochiæ, in obsidione Christianorum, finem habuit.

His munificence to monasteries.

§ 278. Exterarum nationum homines dignanter ad amicitiam admisit, indifferenter honoribus extulit: eleemosynæ curam habuit: transmarinis ecclesiis multas possessiones in Anglia largitus; nec ullum fere monasterium, præsertim in Normannia, vel ejus vel ducum munificentia pertransiit, ut Angliæ copia tenuitas illorum sustentaretur. Ita ejus tempore ultro citroque cœnobialis grex excrevit, monasteria surgebant religione vetera, ædificiis recentia. Sed hic animadverto mussitationem dicentium, Melius fuisse ut antiqua in suo statu conservarentur, quam, illis semimutilatis, de rapina nova construerentur.

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[1] *Astutiæ.*] *C. D. E.*; abstinentiæ, *A. S. L.*

Description of his person and habits.

§ 279. Justæ fuit staturæ, immensæ corpulentiæ, facie fera, fronte capillis nuda, roboris ingentis in lacertis, ut magno sæpe spectaculo fuerit quod nemo ejus arcum tenderet, quem ipse admisso equo pedibus nervo extento sinuaret; magnæ dignitatis sedens et stans, quanquam obesitas ventris nimis protensa corpus regium deformaret; commodæ valetudinis, ut qui nunquam aliquo morbo periculoso præter in extremo decubuerit; exercitio nemorum adeo deditus, ut (sicut prædixi) multa millia ejectis habitatoribus silvescere juberet, in quibus, a cæteris negotiis avocatus, animum remitteret. Convivia in præcipuis festivitatibus sumptuosa et magnifica inibat; Natale Domini apud Gloecestram, Pascha apud Wintoniam, Pentecosten apud Westmonasterium agens quotannis quibus in Anglia morari liceret: omnes eo cujuscunque professionis magnates regium edictum accersiebat, ut exterarum gentium legati speciem multitudinis apparatumque deliciarum mirarentur. Nec ullo tempore comior aut indulgendi facilior erat, ut qui advenerant largitatem ejus cum divitiis conquadrare ubique gentium jactitarent. Quem morem convivandi primus successor obstinate tenuit, [1]secundus omisit.

His love of money.

§ 280. Sola est de qua [2]nonnihil culpetur pecuniæ [3]aggestio, quam undecunque captatis occasionibus, [4]honestas modo et regia dignitate non inferiores posset dicere, congregabat. Sed excusabitur facile, quia novum regnum sine magna

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[1] *Secundus omisit.*] See post, § 407.

[2] *Nonnihil.*] *C. D. E.*; merito, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Aggestio.*] *C. D. E.*; cupiditas, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Honestas . . . posset regere.*] *C. D. E. K.*; nihil unquam pensi habuit, quin corraderet; faceret, diceret nonnulla, et pene omnia, tanta majestate indigniora, ubi spes nummi effulsisset, *A. S. G. H. L.*

pecunia non posset regere. Non est hic aliquid [1]aliud excusationis quod afferam, nisi quod quidam dixit, 'Necesse est ut multos timeat, quem multi timent.' Nam ille, pro timore inimicorum, provincias suas pecunia emungebat, qua impetus eorum vel tardaret vel etiam propelleret, persæpe ut fit in rebus humanis viribus cassatis, fidem hostilem præmio pigneratus: regnat adhuc et indies augetur hujusce dedecoris calamitas, ut et villæ et ecclesiæ pensionibus supponantur; et ne hoc quidem perpetua exactorum fide, sed quicunque plus obtulerit, statim, pactis irritis prioribus, palmam habeat.

William quarrels with the king of France.

§ 281. Extremo vitæ tempore in Normannia habitans, contractis inimicitiis cum rege Francorum, aliquantisper se continuit; cujus abutens patientia, Philippus fertur dixisse, 'Rex Angliæ jacet Rotomagi, more absolutarum partu fœminarum cubile fovens,' jocatus in ejus ventrem quem potione alleviarat. Quo præstrictus convitio, respondit, 'Cum ad missam post partum iero, [2]centum millia candelas ei libabo;' talia 'per resurrectionem et splendorem Dei' pronuncians, quod soleret ex industria talia sacramenta facere quæ ipso [3]hiatu oris terrificum quiddam auditorum mentibus insonarent.

His revenge.

§ 282. Nec multo post, Augusto mense declinante, quando et segetes in agris, et botri in vineis, et poma in viridariis, copiam sui volentibus

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[1] *Aliud.*] *C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. L.*

[2] *Centum millia candelas ei libabo.*] Alluding to the custom women had in those days of offering lighted candles when they were churched. Mr. Sharpe observes, 'The Romish ritual directs the woman to kneel, with a lighted taper in her hand, at the church door, where she is sprinkled with holy water, and afterwards conducted into the church. The practice seems connected with the festival of the Purification; v. Durand, lib. VII. c. 7.'

[3] *Hiatu.*] *C. D. E.*; habitu, *S.*; halitu, *L.*; rictu, *A.*

faciunt, exercitu coacto, Franciam infestus ingreditur. Omnia proterit, cuncta populatur; nihil erat quod furentis animum mitigaret, ut injuriam insolenter acceptam multorum dispendio ulcisceretur. Postremo Medantum civitatem injectis ignibus cremavit, combusta illic ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ; reclusa una ustulata, quæ spelæum suum nec in tali necessitate deserendum putavit; fortunæ omnes civium pessundatæ. Quo successu exhilaratus, dum suos audacius incitat ut igni adjiciant pabula, propius flammas succedens, foci calore et autumnalis æstus inæqualitate morbum nactus est. Dicunt quidam quod præruptam fossam sonipes transiliens interanea sessoris [1] ruperit, quod in anteriori parte sellæ venter protuberabat. Hoc dolore affectus receptui suis cecinit; Rotomagumque reversus, crescente indies incommodo, lecto excipitur. Consulti medici inspectione urinæ certam mortem prædixere. Quo audito querimonia domum replevit, quod eum præoccuparet mors emendationem vitæ jamdudum meditantem. Resumpto animo, quæ Christiani sunt executus est in confessione et viatico. Normanniam invitus et coactus Roberto, Angliam Willelmo, possessiones maternas Henrico delegavit. Vinctos suos omnes educi et solvi, thesauros efferri et ecclesiis dispergi, præcepit. Certum numerum pecuniæ ad reparationem ecclesiæ nuper crematæ ipse indixit. Ordinatis ergo bene rebus, octavo idus Septembris decessit, anno regni [2] vicesimo primo, comitatus quinquagesimo secundo, vitæ quinquagesimo nono, Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo octogesimo septimo. Ille fuit annus quo Cnuto

His last illness,

and death, Sept. 6, 1087.

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[1] *Ruperit.*] *E* 1.; disruperit, *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*

[2] *Vicesimo primo.*] *C. D. E.*; vicesimo secundo, *S. L* 2.

rex Danorum ([1]ut supra diximus) interemtus est; quo Sarraceni Hispani in Christianos efferati, mox ab Aldefonso rege Galliciæ ad sua redire coacti, etiam urbibus quas olim tenuerant inviti cessere.

§ 283. Corpus, regio solenni curatum, per Sequanam Cadomum delatum; ibi magna frequentia ordinatorum, laicorum pauca, humi traditum. Varietatis humanæ tunc fuit videre miseriam, quod homo ille totius olim Europæ honor, antecessorumque suorum omnium potentior, sedem æternæ requiescionis sine calumnia impetrare non potuit: namque [2]miles quidam, ad cujus patrimonium locus ille pertinuerat, clara contestans voce rapinam, sepulturam inhibuit, dicens, Avito jure solum suum esse, nec illum in loco quem violenter invaserat pausare debere. Quocirca volente Henrico filio, qui solus ex liberis aderat, centum libræ argenti litigatori persolutæ audacem calumniam compescuere: nam tunc Robertus primogenitus in Francia contra patriam bellabat; Willelmus, antequam plane pater exspiraret, Angliam enavigaverat, utilius ducens suis in posterum commodis prospicere, quam [3]obsequiis paterni corporis interesse. Porro, in dispertienda pecunia nec segnis nec parcus, omnem illum thesaurum Wintoniæ totis annis regni cumulatum ab arcanis sacrariis eruit in lucem; monasteriis aurum, ecclesiis agrestibus solidos quinque argenti, unicuique pago centum libras viritim egenis dividendas, largitus. Patris etiam

His burial.

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[1] *Ut supra diximus.*] § 261, p. 438. Malmesbury here follows the Saxon Chronicle, which refers the death of Cnut to 1087: but this event should be attributed to the preceding year. (L'Art de vérif. les Dates, II. 85.)

[2] *Miles quidam.*] His name is reported to have been Asselin Fitz-Arthur.

[3] *Obsequiis.*] *C. E. L.*; exequiis, *A. S. D.*

memoriam ingenti congerie argenti et auri, cum gemmarum luce, conspicue adornavit.

DE BERENGARIO.

Account of Berengar.

§ 284. Fuit hoc tempore Berengarius, Turonensis hæresiarcha, qui panem et vinum in altari apposita, post consecrationem sacerdotis, verum et substantiale corpus Domini (sicut sancta ecclesia prædicat) esse denegabat. Jamque scatebat omnis Gallia ejus doctrina, per egenos scholares (quos ipse quotidiana stipe sollicitabat) disseminata. Unde soliditati catholicæ timens, [1]sanctæ memoriæ Leo papa, Vercellis contra eum instituto concilio, tenebras nebulosi erroris evangelicorum testimoniorum fulgure depulit; sed cum post obitum ejus virus hæreseos, diu in sinibus quorundam nebulonum confotum, iterum erumperet, Hildebrandus cum archidiaconus esset Turonis, mox papa Romæ, adunatis conciliis, convictum ad dogmatis sui anathema compulit: quæ scripta suis locis, qui desiderat, inveniet. Responderunt ei [2]libris Lanfrancus archiepiscopus, sed præcipue et fortiter Guimundus, prius monachus de sancto Leufredo Normanniæ, postea episcopus Aversanus Apuliæ, nostri temporis eloquentissimus. Porro, licet Berengarius primum calorem juventutis aliquarum hæresium defensione infamaverit, ævo austeriore ita resipuit ut sine retractatione a quibusdam sanctus habeatur, innumeris bonis, maximeque humilitate et eleemosynis, approbatus; largarum possessionum dis-

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[1] *Sanctæ.*] *E* 1.; sanctissimæ, *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*

[2] *Libris Lanfrancus.*] 'Scripsit, inquit Sigebertus, invectivas contra Berengarium Turonensem epistolas, refellens scripta ejus de corpore et sanguine Domini. Lanfrancus, testé eodem bibliographo, scripsit laudes, triumphos, et res gestas Guillelmi Normannorum comitis.' (Note in Bouq. XI. 191.)

pertiendo dominus, non abscondendo et adorando famulus; fœmineæ venustatis adeo parcus, ut nullam conspectui suo pateretur admitti, ne formam videretur delibasse oculo quam non pruriebat animo. Non aspernari pauperem, non adulari divitem; secundum naturam vivere; habens victum et vestitum, juxta apostolum, his contentus esse. Unde eum laudat Cenomanensis pontifex Hildebertus, in primis versificator eximius; cujus verba propterea inserui, ut prædicabilis episcopi affectum in magistrum ostendam, simul et doctrina ejus erit exemplo posteris [1] quo quomodo vivi debeat instituit, etsi fortasse metas veræ laudis amore incitatus transilierit.

Account of Berengar.

'Quem modo miratur, semper mirabitur orbis,
Ille Berengarius non obiturus obit.
Quem, sacræ fidei fastigia summa tenentem,
Jam quinta dies abstulit, ausa nefas.
Illa dies damnosa dies, et perfida mundo,
Qua dolor et rerum summa ruina fuit;
Qua status ecclesiæ, qua spes, qua gloria cleri,
Qua cultor juris, jure ruente, ruit.
Quicquid philosophi, quicquid cecinere poetæ,
Ingenio cessit eloquioque suo.
Sanctior et major sapientia, majus adorta,
Implevit sacrum pectus et ora Deo.
Pectus eum voluit, vox protulit, actio prompsit,
Singula Factori sic studuere suo.
Vir sacer et sapiens, cui nomen crescit in horas;
Quo minor est quisquis, maximus est hominum.
Cui sensus peperit, partos servavit honores;
Cui potior pauper divite, jusque lucro.
Cui nec desidiam nec luxum res dedit ampla,
Nec tumidum fecit multus et altus honos.

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[1] *Quo.*] *E* 1.; qua, *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*

Account of Berengar.

Qui nec ad argentum nec ad aurum lumina flexit;
Sed doluit quotiens, cui daret hæc, aberat.
Qui non cessavit inopum fulcire ruinas,
Donec, inops dando, pauper et ipse fuit.
Cujus cura sequi naturam, legibus uti,
Et mentem vitiis, ora negare dolis;
Virtutes opibus, verum præponere falso;
Nil vacuum sensu dicere vel facere;
Lædere nec quenquam, cunctis prodesse; favorem
Et populare lucrum pellere mente, manu.
Cui vestis textura rudis; cui non fuit unquam
Ante sitim potus, nec cibus ante famem.
Quem Pudor hospitium statuit sibi; quamque Libido
Incestos superat, tam superavit eam.
Quem Natura parens cum mundo contulit, (inquit,)
"Degenerant alii, nascitur iste mihi."
Quæque vagabatur, et pene reliquerat orbem,
Inclusit sacro pectore Justitiam.
Vir sacer a puero, qui quantum præminet orbi
Fama, tam famæ præminet ipse suæ.
Fama, minor meritis, cum totum pervolet orbem,
Cum semper crescat, non erit æqua tamen.
Vir pius atque gravis; vir sic in utroque modestus,
Ut Livor neutro rodere possit eum.
Livor enim deflet quem carpserat antea; nec tam
Carpsit et odit eum, quam modo laudat, amat.
Quam prius ex vita, tam nunc ex morte gemiscit,
Et queritur celeres hujus abisse dies.
Vir vere sapiens, et parte beatus ab omni;
Qui cœlos anima, corpore ditat humum.
Post obitum vivam secum, secum requiescam,
Nec fiat melior sors mea sorte sua.'

§ 285. Videas in his versibus quod laudis excesserit modum episcopus; sed sic se ostentat

eloquentia, tali gestu procedit aureus lepos, eo modo Account of Berengar.

'Purpureos flores fundit facundia dives.'

Berengarius, plane quamvis ipse sententiam correxerit, omnes quos ex totis terris depravaverat convertere nequivit; adeo pessimum est alios exemplo vel verbo a bono infirmare, quia fortassis peccatum te gravabit alienum, cum deletum fuerit tuum. Quod episcopum Carnotensem [1] Fulbertum, quem Domini mater Maria olim ægrotum lacte mammillarum suarum visa fuerat sanare, prædixisse aiunt: nam cum in extremis positum multi visitarent, et ædium capacitas vix confluentibus sufficeret, ille inter oppositas catervas oculo longe rimatus, Berengarium nisu quo valuit expellendum censuit, protestatus immanem dæmonem propter eum consistere, multosque ad eum sequendum blandiente manu et illice anhelitu corrumpere; quin et ipse die Epiphaniorum moriens, gemituque producto recordatus quot miseros quondam adolescens primo erroris calore secta sua infecerit, 'Hodie,' inquit, 'in die apparitionis suæ apparebit mihi Dominus meus Jesus Christus, propter pœnitentiam, ut spero, ad gloriam; vel propter alios, ut timeo, ad pœnam.'

§ 286. Nos sane credimus, post benedictionem ecclesiasticam, illa mysteria esse verum corpus et sanguinem Salvatoris; adducti et veteris ecclesiæ auctoritate, et multis noviter ostensis miraculis. Quale fuit illud quod beatus Gregorius exhibuit Romæ. Quale quod Paschasius narrat contigisse Alamanniæ: presbyterum Plegildum visibiliter speciem pueri in altare contrectasse,

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[1] *Fulbertum, quem Domini mater Maria olim ægrotum lacte mammillarum suarum visa fuerat sanare.*] See § 186, pp. 316, 317.

Account of Berengar.

et, post libata oscula, in panis similitudinem conversum ecclesiastico more sumpsisse: quod arroganti cavillatione ferunt Berengarium carpere solitum, et dicere, 'Speciosa certe pax nebulonis, ut, cui oris præbuerat basium, dentium inferret exitium.' Quale de pusione Judaico; quod, in ecclesiam cum [1] æquævo Christiano forte et ludibunde ingressus, vidit puerum in ara membratim discerpi, et viritim populo dividi. Id cum innocentia puerili parentibus pro vero assereret, in rogum detrusum ubi occluso ostio æstuabat incendium, multis post horis sine jactura corporis, exuviarumque, et etiam crinium, a Christianis extractum, interrogatusque quomodo voraces ignium globos evaserit, respondit, 'Illa pulchra fœmina quam vidi sedere in cathedra, cujus filius populo dividebatur, semper mihi in camino ad dextram astitit, flammineas minas et fumea volumina peplo suo summovens.'

The invention of the body of Walwen.

§ 287. Tunc in provincia Walarum, quæ Ros vocatur, inventum est sepulchrum Walwen, qui fuit haud degener Arturis ex sorore nepos. Regnavit in ea parte Britanniæ quæ adhuc Walweitha vocatur: miles virtute nominatissimus, sed a fratre et nepote Hengistii, de quibus in primo libro dixi, regno expulsus, prius multo eorum detrimento exilium compensans suum; communicans merito laudi avunculi, quod ruentis patriæ casum in plures annos distulerint. Sed Arturis sepulchrum nusquam visitur, unde antiquitas næniarum adhuc eum venturum fabulatur. Cæterum, alterius bustum, ut præmisi, tempore Willelmi regis repertum est super oram maris, quatuordecim pedes longum; ubi a quibusdam asseritur ab hostibus vulneratus, et naufragio

[1] *Æquævo.*] *D. E. L.*; coæquævo, *S. C.*

ejectus; a quibusdam dicitur a civibus in publico epulo interfectus. Veritatis ergo notitia labat in dubio, licet neuter eorum defuerit famæ suæ patrocinio.

Concerning the emperor Henry IV.

§ 288. Illa fuit tempestas qua Henrici (de quo inter gesta Willelmi locutus sum) miserabile et pene funestum per quinquaginta annos Alamannia ingemuit imperium. Erat is neque ineruditus neque ignavus, sed fato quodam ab omnibus ita impetitus, ut rem religionis tractare sibi videretur quisquis in illum arma produceret. Habebat filios duos, Conradum et Henricum: prior nihil impium contra parentem ausus, subjugata Italia, apud Aretium civitatem Tusciæ dies expleverat: alter patrem, aliquantulum ab externis feriatum, primo ævi tyrocinio aggressus, cedere imperio compulit; nec multo post, defunctum imperialibus inferiis extulit. Vivit adhuc, ejusdem sententiæ pertinaciter sequax pro qua patrem persequendum putaverat: nam et investituram ecclesiarum per baculum et annulum donat, et sine suo arbitratu papam electum non legitimum æstimat; licet Calixtus, [1]qui modo apostolicæ sedi præsidet, immodicam viri aviditatem egregie inhibuerit. Verum de his plura me dicturum lector præstoletur, cum series narrationis expetierit.

Contests between the emperor and the papal see.

§ 289. Porro Hildebrando papa (ut dixi) mortuo, et Urbano a cardinalibus electo, imperator hæsit in proposito ut Wibertum præferret et papam dictitaret, Romæque, altero expulso, inferret: sed æquiori (ut videbatur) causæ affuit militia [2]Matildis Marcisæ, quæ oblita sexus, nec

[1] *Qui modo apostolicæ sedi præsidet.*] Calixtus became pope on the 1st of Feb. 1119, and died on the 12th or 13th Dec. 1124.

[2] *Matildis Marcisæ.*] She was the daughter of Boniface duke of Tuscany, and at her death bestowed her immense possessions upon the holy see.

dispar antiquis Amazonibus, ferrata virorum agmina in bellum agebat fœmina; ejus suffragio Urbanus posteriori tempore thronum indeptus apostolicum, securum per undecim annos actitavit otium. Post eum Paschalis, consputa Henrici scientia, a Romanis institutus est. Gravabat superas adhuc vivendo Wibertus auras, unicus schismatis sator, nec unquam quoad vixit pervicaciam deposuit ut justitiæ manus daret; imperatoris judicium pronuncians sequendum, non [1]lanistarum vel pellificum Romanorum: quare ambo, ab Urbano [2]sequentibus conciliis excommunicati, arguto sententiam suspendebant ludibrio. Inter hæc erant multa quæ in Cæsare probares; quod esset ore facundus, acer ingenio, multa eruditus lectione, impiger eleemosynis, prorsus in [3]eo bona animi corporisque cerneres; ad arma prompte concurrere, ut qui sexagies et bis acie collata dimicarit; juste lites componere; cum res non successisset, querelis in cœlum conversis inde opem expectare. Plures inimicorum ejus vitam exitu miserando conclusere.

DE HOMINE A MURIBUS DILACERATO.

A legend. § 290. Audivi virum veracissimum referentem quod quidam ex adversariis ejus, homo impotens et factiosus, dum resupinatis cervicibus in convivio resideret, ita a muribus repente circumvallatus est ut nusquam esset effugium; tantus erat

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[1] *Lanistarum vel pellificum Romanorum.*] Sharpe suggests that these words are intended as a sneer at the sanguinary disposition of the Roman people, and at the bulls of the pope. In a dispute on the credibility of evidence adduced, it is observed that the oral testimony of three bishops was certainly to be preferred 'to sheep-skins blackened with ink, and loaded with a leaden seal.' (Eadmer. Hist. Novor. p. 65.)

[2] *Sequentibus.*] *C. E.*; frequentibus, *A. S. D. L.*

[3] *Eo.*] *A. S. D. L.*; ea, *C. E.*

numerus bestiolarum ut in quamlibet ampla provincia tot esse non putarentur. Itaque fustibus, et subselliorum quæ ad manum occurrissent fragminibus, diu in eas sævitum, nec quicquam profectum; et quamvis a cunctis repellerentur, nulli tamen noxam vicariam referebant; illum solum dentibus, illum terribili quodam occentu persequebantur. Quapropter a famulis ultra jactum sagittæ in pelagus provectus, nec sic violentiam evasit; continuo enim tanta vis murium ponto inundavit ut marmor paleis constratum jurares. Sed cum jam tabulata navis corroderent, et naufragium indubitatum aqua per rimulas ingrediens minaretur, servientes puppem ad littus retorquent. Tum vero animalia, juxta carinam annavigantia, priora ad terram perveniunt; ita miser ille in aridam expositus, moxque totus dilaceratus, horrendam murium famem explevit.

QUOD QUEM LEOPARDUS MORDICUS ATTIGERIT MURES COMMINGANT.

§ 291. Ideo minus hoc mirum judico, quia certum est in Asiaticis regionibus si leopardus aliquem mordicus attigerit, confestim murium copiam adventare, ut vulneratum commingant, immundum urinæ diluvium comitari hominis exitium; sin vero sedulitate arcentium ministrorum intra novem dies vitata fuerit pernicies, advocari medicorum industriam profecto valituram. Conspicatus est relator meus quendam ejusmodi saucium, cum desperaret in terra salutem, in altum jactis anchoris processisse; nec mora, [1] plures illo mures annasse, corticibus malorum granatorum quorum medullas exederant inclusos, mirabile dictu, sed obstrepentibus nautis demersos. Nihil

Another legend.

[1] *Plures illo.*] *C. D. E.*; plusquam mille, *S.*; plus mille, *A. L.*

enim ille Parens rerum creatum destituit ingenio, nihil porro noxium sine remedio.

DE MARINIANO SCOTO.

Concerning Marianus Scotus.

§ 292. Sub isto imperatore regnante floruit [1]Marinianus Scotus, qui primo Fuldensis monachus, [2]post apud Magontiacum inclusus, contemptu præsentis vitæ, gratiam futuræ demerebatur. Is, longo vitæ otio chronographos scrutatus, [3]dissonantiam cyclorum Dionysii exigui ab evangelica veritate deprehendit; itaque, ab initio seculi annos singulos recensens, viginti duos annos qui circulis prædictis deerant superaddidit, sed paucos aut nullos sententiæ suæ sectatores habuit. Quare sæpe mirari soleo cur nostri temporis doctos hoc respergat infortunium, ut in tanto numero discentium, in tam tristi pallore lucubrantium, vix aliquis plenam scientiæ laudem referat. Adeo inveteratus usus placet; adeo fere nullus novis, licet probabiliter inventis, serenitatem assensus pro merito indulget; totis conatibus in sententiam veterum reptatur, omne recens sordet: ita, quia solus favor alit ingenia, cessante favore [4]obtorpuerunt omnia.

DE MIRACULO QUOD ACCIDIT IN FULDENSI CŒNOBIO.

A legend.

§ 293. Sed quia Fuldense cœnobium [5]nominavi, dicam quod ibidem accidisse vir reverendus mihi

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[1] *Marinianus Scotus.*] Marianus Scotus was born in Ireland A.D. 1028. He was the compiler of a chronicle (first published in 1569) from the commencement of the world to his own time (A.D.1082), and which formed the basis of that of Florence of Worcester: he appears to have died in the year 1086.

[2] *Post.*] *C. D. E. L.*; mox, *S.*

[3] *Dissonantiam cyclorum Dionysii exigui.*] Mr. Sharpe observes that this imagined correction of Dionysius is founded in error.

[4] *Obtorpuerunt.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; torpent, *C.*

[5] *Nominavi.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; semel nominavi, *C.*

narravit, Walkerius prior Malverni; cujus verbis qui non credit, injuriam religioni facit. 'Non' (ait) 'plusquam quindecim anni sunt quod in eodem loco exitialis lues grassata prius abbatem corripuit, mox multos monachorum extinxit. Superstites primo quisque sibi timere, orationes et eleemosynas largiores facere: sed processu temporis, ut est omnium natura hominum, pedetentim, metu dempto, omittere; cellararius præsertim, qui palam et ridicule clamitaret non posse penum tot expensis sufficere; sperasse se nuper aliquod alleviamentum, pro tot elationibus funerum; nihil ultra spei esse, si quod vivi nequissent mortui consumerent. Itaque cum quadam nocte pro re necessaria soporem diu distulisset, tandem elaqueatis morarum retibus in dormitorium ire pergebat; et ecce, rem miram auditurus es, videt in capitulo abbatem, et omnes qui obierant illo anno, eo quo excesserant ordine sedere. Timidus et effugere gestiens, vi retractus est; increpitus, et monastico more flagellis coercitus, audivit verba abbatis in hanc omnino sententiam, Stultum esse de alterius morte emolumento inhiare, cum sors cujusque sub eodem pendeat fato; impium esse, cum monachus omnem vitam in ecclesiæ consumpserit obsequio, ut careat unius saltem anni post mortem stipendio: illum citissime obiturum, sed quicquid pro eo fieret, ad aliorum quibus abstulerat refundendum commodum; iret modo, et alios corrigeret exemplo quos corruperat verbo. Abiit ille; et nihil se vanum vidisse, tam recentibus plagis quam proximo sui obitu, monstravit.'

Controversy between the sees of Canterbury and York.

§ 294. Interea, dum alia agimus, irrepsit materia, et voluntas accessit, ut quid tempore Willelmi regis definitum sit de controversia quæ adhuc inter archiepiscopos Cantuariensem et

Eboracensem volutatur, describam. De qua re, ut plane norint posteri, quid inde antiqui patres senserint apponam.

QUOD OMNES EPISCOPI TOTIUS BRITANNIÆ ARCHIEPISCOPO DOROBERNIÆ SUBJICIANTUR.

Gregorius papa Augustino primo Anglorum archiepiscopo Doroberniæ.

§ 295. 'Tua fraternitas non solum eos episcopos quos ordinaverit, neque hos tantummodo qui per[1] Eboracensem episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam omnes Britanniæ sacerdotes, habeat, Deo Domino nostro Jesu Christo auctore, subjectos.'

Bonifacius Justo archiepiscopo Doroberniæ.

§ 296. 'Absit ab omni Christiano ut ex illa civitate Dorobernia aliquid minuatur, aut in aliud mutetur, nunc vel futuris temporibus, quæ a prædecessore nostro domino papa Gregorio statuta sunt, quoquo modo res humanæ quassantur: sed magis ex auctoritate beati Petri apostolorum principis id ipsum præcipientes firmamus, ut in Dorobernia civitate semper in posterum metropolitanus totius Britanniæ locus habeatur; omnesque provinciæ regni Anglorum, ut præfati loci metropolitanæ ecclesiæ subjiciantur, immutilata et perpetua stabilitate decernimus. Hanc autem ecclesiam, utpote specialiter consistentem sub potestate et tuitione sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, si quis conatus fuerit imminuere, eique de concessæ potestatis jure quicquid abstulerit, auferat eum Deus de libro vitæ, sciatque se sub anathematis vinculis esse nodatum.'

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[1] *Eboracensem.*] *A. S. D. E.*; Eboracæ, *C. D. L.*

Alexander Willelmo regi Anglorum.

§ 297. 'Causam Alricii, qui olim Cicestrensis ecclesiæ dictus est episcopus, diligenter retractandam, et definiendam, fratri nostro episcopo Lanfranco commisimus. Item sibi negotium, de discernenda lite quæ inter archiepiscopum Eboracensem et episcopum Dorcacestrensem de [1]pertinacia diœcesis eorum est, firmiter injungendo commendavimus, ut hanc causam diligentissima perquisitione pertractet, et justo fine determinet. In causis autem pertractandis et definiendis ita sibi nostræ et apostolicæ auctoritatis vicem dedimus, ut quicquid in eis justitia dictante determinaverit, quasi in nostra præsentia definitum, deinceps firmum et indissolubile [2]teneatur.'

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[1] *Pertinacia.*] *C. E.*; pertinentia, *S. D. L.*; obtinentia, *A.*

[2] *Teneatur.*] *S. C. D. E. L* 2.; in the margin of *L* 1. 'Explicit de Willelmo Magno. Desunt leges ejusdem, continentes fere unum folium;' *A.* contains the Laws of the Conqueror, as follow.

'EXPLICIT DE WILLELMO MAGNO, NORMANNIÆ COMITE ET REGE ANGLORUM.

'INCIPIUNT LEGES EJUSDEM.

'Willelmus rex Anglorum, omnibus ad quos scriptum hoc perveniet per totam Angliam, salutem et amicitiam. Mando et præcipio per totam Angliæ nationem custodiri: Si Anglicus homo compellet aliquem Francigenam per bellum de furto, vel homicidio, vel aliqua re pro qua bellum fieri debeat, vel judicium inter duos homines, habeat plenam licentiam hoc faciendi. Et si Anglicus bellum nolit, Francigena compellatus allegiet se jurejurando contra eum per testes suos secundum legem Normanniæ.

'ITEM; si Francigena compellet Anglicum per bellum de eisdem rebus, Anglicus plena licentia defendat se per bellum, vel per judicium, si magis ei placeat. Et si unꝑum sit, id est, invalidus, et nolit bellum, vel non possit, quærat sibi legalem defensorem. Si Francigena victus fuerit, persolvat regi sexaginta solidos. Et si Anglicus nolit se defendere per bellum vel per testimonium, allegiet se per Dei judicium.

'DE omnibus uthlagii rebus rex instituit ut Anglicus purget se ad judicium. Et si Anglicus appellet Francigenam de uthlagaria, et hoc super eum inveritare velit, defendat se Francigena per bellum. Et si Anglicus non audeat eum probare per bellum, defendat se Francigena plano juramento, non in verborum observantiis.

'ITEM. Regem Angliæ, singulari majestate, regni sui dominum esse manifeste veritatis intuitus et singulorum denique cognovit effectus. Quod cum inclita be-

QUOD EBORACENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS, ET OMNES SIBI SUBJECTI, ARCHIEPISCOPO DOROBERNIÆ SUBJICIANTUR.

Generale concilium regni Anglorum de jure et primatu Dorobernensis sive Cantuariensis ecclesiæ.

A.D. 1072. § 298. 'Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo septuagesimo secundo, pontificatus autem domini Alexandri papæ undecimo, regni vero Willelmi gloriosi regis Anglorum et ducis Normannorum sexto, ex præcepto ejusdem Alexandri papæ, annuente eodem rege, in præsentia ipsius et episcoporum atque abbatum, ventilata est causa de primatu quem Lan-

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nignitate regis et jure, debita subditorum fidelitate proveniat, situs quoque patriæ confidenter adjuvat, naturæ beneficiis et maris vicinitate conclusus, ut sine gratuita dominorum licentia nullus exitus, nulli relinquatur ingressus. Unde tanta genti securitas, tanta bonorum omnium copia successit, ut, si veræ rationis honestate regeretur, ætatis aureæ pristina tempora conformaret. Set hoc tantis eam promotionibus elicit, quod cum omni forinseca perturbatione sit libera, tantis gaudiorum voluptatibus evehatur, sicut miseranda mortalium conditio est, malo scilicet acclinis et lapsui prona, intestinis animi seditionibus et cæco novorum molimine semper infrendit. Hinc a primævo mundi nascentis exordio, quos rerum Deus Artifex æqua libertate ditaverat, inobedientiæ motus inflammantis ejecit. Et qui cœli Dominum ferre non poterant, hominum serviunt pravitate distincti, continuis malorum persecutionibus, in deteriora quæque projecti. Et licet immeritos divina tamen miseratio tanta prosequitur, et tali dominos informatione componit, ne vel aliquos servitus adnichilet, aut impunita securitas elata præcipitet, reges quoque qui perfunctoria cæteros pompa præveniunt, ne potentatibus insolescant, carnis infirmitatibus et humanis admodum necessitatibus expositos utili penitus sollicitudine frequentat. Regem quippe non faciunt vulgi de fascibus fabulosa commenta, vel furentis insaniæ, vel infinita jugera, vel amica putredinis ingeniosa crapula, vel de lamentis pauperum convulsa pecunia. Regem non faciunt vestes Tyriæ, non auro nitidæ trabes, non color frontis vel vota regia. Sed rex est qui posuit metus et diri mala pectoris, quem non ambitio impotens et nunquam stabilis favor vulgi præcipitis movet. Rex est qui se diri pectoris fætoribus evacuat, et prodesse singulis sollerter invigilat, quales nuper ad fastigium hujus culminis non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio, provexit. Necessaria siquidem est mansuetudo prælatis,

francus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus super Eboracensem ecclesiam jure suæ ecclesiæ proclamabat; et de ordinationibus quorundam episcoporum, de quibus ad quem specialiter pertinerent certum minime constabat: et tandem aliquando diversis diversarum scripturarum auctoritatibus probatum atque ostensum est quod Eboracensis ecclesia Cantuariensi debeat subjacere, ejusque archiepiscopi, ut primatis totius Britanniæ, dispositionibus, in iis quæ ad Christianam religionem pertinent, in omnibus obedire. Subjectionem vero Dunelmensis, hoc est, Lindisfarnensis episcopi, atque omnium regionum a terminis Licifeldensis episcopii, et Humbriæ magni fluvii, usque ad extremos Scotiæ fines, et quicquid ex hac parte prædicti fluminis ad parochiam Eboracensis ecclesiæ jure competit, Cantuariensis metropolitanus Eboracensi archiepiscopo ejusque successoribus obtinere concessit. Ita ut si Cantuariensis archiepiscopus concilium cogere voluerit, ubicunque visum ei fuerit, Eboracensis archiepiscopus sui præsentiam cum omnibus sibi subjectis ad nutum ejus exhibeat, et ejus canonicis dispositionibus obediens existat. Quod autem Eboracensis archiepiscopus professionem Cantuariensi archiepiscopo [1]etiam cum sacramento facere debeat, Lanfrancus Dorobernensis

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et disciplina subjectis. Postquam enim ad singula quæque sagax hominum penetravit intentio, et nichil ad pecuniam, visum est incommodum, crevit opulentia, crevit invidia, ex invidia odium, ex odio bellum, nulli fides, nulli profuit eleemosyna. Si qua tamen nativæ bonitatis remanserant monimenta, sanxere leges et vivendi jura, constituerunt urbes et fida receptacula quo tuta fieret inter improbos innocentia. Et quos ipsa probitatis hortamenta non excitant, saltem conquiescant ad pœnæ formidinem. Lex, alia naturalis, quæ apud omnes eadem est; alia consuetudinis, in qua habet unaquaque patria suum aliquid proprium.'

[1] *Etiam cum sacramento.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

archiepiscopus ex antiqua antecessorum consuetudine ostendit; sed, ob amorem regis, Thomæ Eboracensi archiepiscopo sacramentum relaxavit, scriptamque tantum professionem recepit, non præjudicans successoribus suis qui sacramentum cum professione a successoribus Thomæ exigere voluerint. Si archiepiscopus Cantuariensis vitam finierit, Eboracensis archiepiscopus Doroberniam veniet; et eum qui electus fuerit, cum cæteris præfatæ ecclesiæ episcopis, ut primatem proprium jure consecrabit. Quod si Eboracensis archiepiscopus obierit, is qui ei successurus eligitur, accepto a rege archiepiscopatus dono, Cantuariam, vel ubi Cantuariensi archiepiscopo placuerit, accedet, et ab ipso ordinationem canonico more suscipiet. Huic constitutioni consenserunt præfatus rex, et archiepiscopi Lanfrancus Cantuariensis et Thomas Eboracensis, et Hubertus, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ subdiaconus et præfati Alexandri papæ legatus, et cæteri qui interfuerunt episcopi et abbates. Ventilata est autem hæc causa prius apud Wentanam civitatem in Paschali [1] solennitate, in capella regia quæ sita est in castello; postea in villa regia quæ vocatur Windlesor, ubi et finem accepit in præsentia regis, episcoporum, abbatum diversorum ordinum, qui congregati erant apud curiam in festivitate Pentecostes. Signum Willelmi regis. Signum Matildis reginæ. Ego Hubertus, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ lector et domini Alexandri papæ legatus, subscripsi. [2] Ego Lanfrancus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus subscripsi. Ego Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus

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[1] *Solennitate.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; festivitate, *C.*

[2] *Ego Lanfrancus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus subscripsi.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

subscripsi. Ego Willelmus Londoniensis episcopus consensi. Ego Hermannus Scirburnensis episcopus subscripsi. Ego Wulstanus Wigornensis episcopus subscripsi. Ego Walterus Herefordensis episcopus [1]subscripsi. Ego Giso Wellensis episcopus consensi. Ego Remigius Dorcacensis episcopus subscripsi. Ego Wakelinus Wentanus épiscopus subscripsi. Ego Herfastus Helmeanensis episcopus subscripsi. Ego Stigandus Cicestrensis episcopus consensi. Ego Siwardus Rofensis episcopus consensi. Ego Osbernus Exoniensis episcopus consensi. Ego Odo Baiocensis episcopus, et comes Cantiæ, consensi. Ego Godefridus Constantiensis episcopus, et unus de primatibus Anglorum, consensi. Ego Scotlandus abbas cœnobii sancti Augustini consensi. Ego Elfwinus, abbas cœnobii quod Ramesege dicitur, consensi. Ego Elnothus Glastoniensis abbas consensi. Ego Turstanus, abbas cœnobii quod in insula quæ dicitur Heli situm est, consensi. Ego Wlnothus, abbas cœnobii quod Certesei dicitur, consensi. Ego Elfwinus abbas cœnobii Evesandi consensi. Ego Fridericus abbas sancti Albani consensi. Ego Gosfridus abbas cœnobii sancti Petri, quod non longe a Londonia situm est, consensi. Ego Baldewinus abbas cœnobii sancti Edmundi consensi. Ego Turoldus abbas de Burgo consensi. Ego Adelelmus abbas Abbendoniæ consensi. Ego Rualdus abbas Novi Monasterii Wintoniæ consensi.'

Professio Thomæ Eboracensis archiepiscopi.

§ 299. 'Decet Christianum quemque Christianis legibus subjacere, nec iis quæ a sanctis patribus

Profession of the archbishop of York.

[1] *Subscripsi.*] *E* 1.; consensi, *S. E* 2. *L.*

salubriter instituta sunt quibuslibet rationibus contraire. Hinc namque iræ, dissensiones, invidiæ, contentiones, cæteraque procedunt, quæ amatores suos in [1] pœnas demergunt. Et quanto quisque altioris est ordinis, tanto impensius debet obtemperare præceptis. Propterea ego Thomas ordinatus jam Eboracensis ecclesiæ metropolitanus antistes, auditis cognitisque rationibus, absolutam tibi Lanfrance, Dorobernensis archiepiscope, tuisque successoribus, de canonica obedientia professionem facio; et quicquid a te vel ab eis juste et canonice mihi injunctum fuerit, servaturum me esse promitto. De hac autem re, dum a te adhuc ordinandus essem, dubius fui; ideoque tibi quidem sine conditione, successoribus vero tuis conditionaliter, obtemperaturum me esse promisi.'

Sees subject to Canterbury and to York.

§ 300. Habebat autem ex antiquo, [2] sicut in libro primo dixisse me memini, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus hos episcopos; Londoniensem, Wintoniensem, Rofensem, Scireburnensem, Wigornensem, Herefordensem, Lichetfeldensem, Selesiensem, Legacestrensem, Elmanensem, Sidnacestrensem, Dommuccensem: additi sunt, tempore regis Edwardi senioris, Cornubiensis, Cridiensis, Wellensis in West-Saxonia, et in Merciis Dorcestrensis, [3] ut secundo libro dixi. Eboracensis autem archiepiscopus habebat omnes trans Humbram episcopos suæ ditioni subjectos, Ripensem, Haugustaldensem, Lindisfarnensem, illum de Candida Casa quæ nunc Witerne dicitur, et omnes episcopos Scotiæ et Orcadum; sicut Cantuariensis habet episcopos Hiberniæ et Walarum.

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[1] *Pœnas.*] *C. D. E.*; pœnas æternas, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Sicut in libro primo dixisse me memini.*] §§ 99, et seq. pp. 139, et seq.

[3] *Ut secundo libro dixi.*] § 129, p. 204.

Perierunt autem jamdudum episcopatus Ripensis et Haugustaldensis vi hostilitatis; et Legacestrensis, et Sidnacestrensis et Dommuccensis, quo nescio modo. Porro autem, tempore regis Edwardi simplicis, Cornubiensis et Cridiensis uniti sunt, et translatus est episcopatus in Exoniam. Sub rege Willelmo, in isto eodem concilio pronunciatum est, secundum scita canonum, ut episcopi transeuntes de villis [1]constituerent sedes suas in urbibus diœcesium suarum: Licitfeldensis ergo [2]migravit in Cestram, quæ olim Civitas Legionum dicebatur; Selesiensis in Cicestram; Elmanensis in Tethford primo, nunc ab Herberto episcopo in Norwic; Scirburnensis in Salesbiriam; Dorcestrensis in Lincoliam. Nam Lindisfarnensis pridem veteri tempore transierat in Dunelmum, et nuper Wellensis in Bathoniam.

Their rank in council.

§ 301. In hoc conventu Lanfrancus, qui erat adhuc rudis Anglus, quæsivit a senioribus episcopis qui esset ordo sedendi in concilio, antiquo more statutus: illi vero, excusata difficultate responsi, in diem distulerunt posterum. Et tunc, diligentissime advocata memoria, hunc se vidisse morem asseruere; ut Cantuariæ archiepiscopus, concilio præsidens, habeat a dextro latere archiepiscopum Eboraci, et juxta eum episcopum Wintoniæ, a sinistro autem Londoniensem: quod si, ut contingit, pro aliqua necessitate Cantuariensis primas adventum suum [3]negaverit, vel obitu defuerit, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, concilio præsidens, habeat a dextra Londoniensem episcopum, et a sinistra Wintoniensem; cæteri secundum tempora ordinationum sedilia sua agnoscant.

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[1] *Constituerent.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; construerent, *C.*

[2] *Migravit.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; transiit, *C.*

[3] *Negaverit.*] *C. D. E.*; excusaverit, *A. S. L.*

The jurisdiction of the sees of York and Canterbury settled.

§ 302. Tunc quoque querela archiepiscopi Eboracensis de clamore in Wigornensem et Dorcacestrensem episcopos decisa et sopita est, namque dicebat eos suæ ditioni subjacere debere; quod, cum jamdudum muto silentio ruminasset, Romam cum Lanfranco profectus, ut pallia sua ab apostolico reciperent, palam audiente senatu Romano extulit. Tunc vero Lanfrancus, quamvis ad omnes injurias inconcussæ soliditatis esset, nonnihil tamen tam proterva et ante sibi inaudita postulatione turbatus, iræ motum vultu prodidit, verbis aliquandiu intra fauces devoratis: at Alexander papa, qui gravaretur Lanfrancum contristare, (nam et venienti dignanter assurrexerat, professus illud insigne reverentiæ non se detulisse honori archiepiscopii, sed amori magisterii,) tunc quoque judicandi invidiam a se [1]rejecit, litis arbitrium trajiciens in Anglorum concilium. Quapropter, ut dixi, res, multum diuque ventilata in hoc concilio, hunc sortita est terminum; ut, quia citra Humbram essent, hi episcopi Cantuariensi applicarentur, omnes vero Transhumbranos Eboracensis obtineret.

Wulstan bishop of Worcester.

§ 303. Hic sancta simplicitas beati Wulstani Wigornensis episcopi, immo magnanima in Deo confidentia, laudanda et plausu excipienda est. Cum enim et de hac re, et de parva scientia literarum pulsatus, foras exisset ut a strictiori consilio responsum comeret suum, a tumultibus remoto animo, 'Crede mihi,' inquit, 'nondum cantavimus horam sextam; cantemus ergo.' Tum sociis referentibus ut prius propter quod venerant expedirent, quod satis superque sufficeret cantibus tempus; regem et proceres, si hæc audierint, risui se haberi opinaturos; 'Prius, crede

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[1] *Rejecit.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; removit, *C.*

mihi,' dixit, 'faciemus Dei servitium, et post agitabimus hominum litigium.' Hora igitur cantata, nulla excogitata falsi tergiversatione, nullo commentato veri splendore, confestim aulam concilii ingredi pergebat. Suis eum retinere tentantibus persuaderi non potuit, quin potius timentibus causæ: 'Pro certo,' ait, 'noveritis visibiliter me hic videre beatos archiepiscopos Dunstanum Cantuariensem et Oswaldum Eboracensem, qui hodie, suis me precibus tuentes, falsiloquorum acumen hebetabunt.' Ita data benedictione monacho, minimæ facundiæ viro, sed Normannicæ linguæ sciolo, rem perorans obtinuit, ut qui suæ diœcesis ante indignus putabatur regimine, ab archiepiscopo Eboraci suppliciter rogaretur ut suas dignaretur lustrare [1] partes, quo ipse pro timore hostium vel sermonis ignorantia cavebat accedere.

§ 304. Verum ego non ulterius lectorum expectationem macerabo, qui hæc forsitan non libenter intuentur, quia gesta Willelmi successorum præstolantur; quamvis, nisi me nimius amor mei fallit, nulli varietatem relationum displicituram opinor, nisi si quis tam nubilus est ut Catonis supercilium æmuletur. Sed alia in quarto et quinto libro qui volet experietur, nam tertius debitum agnoscit [2] modum.

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[1] *Partes.*] *S.*; omitted in *A. C. D. E. L.*

[2] *Modum.*] In *D. E.* after 'modum' follows the dedicatory epistle of the Author to Robert Earl of Gloucester, placed at the commencement of volume I.

PROLOGUS

IN LIBRUM QUARTUM.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS IN LIBRO QUARTO DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM.

SCIO plerisque ineptum videri quod gestis nostri temporis regum scribendis stylum applicuerim; dicentibus quod in ejusmodi scriptis sæpe naufragatur veritas et suffragatur falsitas, quippe præsentium mala periculose, bona plausibiliter dicuntur. Eo fit (inquiunt) ut, quia modo [1]omnia magis ad pejus quam ad melius sint proclivia, scriptor obvia mala [2]propter metum prætereat, et, bona si non sunt, propter plausum confingat. Sunt alii qui, nos ex segnitie sua metientes, impares tanto muneri existimant, et hoc studium prava suggillatione contaminant. Quapropter jam pridem, vel illorum ratiocinio vel istorum fastidio perculsus, in otium concesseram, silentio libenter adquiescens; sed dum aliquandiu solutus inertia vacassem, rursus solitus amor studiorum aurem vellit et manum injecit, propterea quod nec nil agere possem, et istis forensibus et homine literato indignis curis me tradere non nossem. Accessere amicorum meorum stimuli, quorum vel tacitæ suggestioni deese non debui; et illi quidem modeste jam prurientem impulere ut cœptum prosequerer. Illorum itaque, quos penitus reposito amore diligo, hortatibus animatus assurgo, ut ex pectoris nostri promptuario

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[1] *Omnia.*] *D. E.*; pene omnia, *L.*

[2] *Propter metum.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

victurum apud se [1]amicitiæ pignus contineant. Quocirca illorum, qui mihi timent ut aut odiar aut mentiar, benevolentiæ gratus, ita sub ope Christi satisfaciam, ut nec falsarius nec odiosus inveniar: sic enim bene et secus acta perstringam, ut, quasi inter Scyllam et Charibdim illæso volante navigio, nil desit sententiæ, etsi aliquid deese putetur historiæ. Porro illis, qui alieni laboris onus sua æstimatione premunt, hoc respondeo quod olim [2]sanctus Ieronymus canibus suis objecit, 'Si placet, legant; si non placet, abjiciant:' quia et ego hæc non tædiosis ingero, sed studiosis, si qui dignentur, consecro; quod et isti [3]juri concinere pronunciabunt, si non de his sunt de quibus dicitur 'Stulti facile possunt convinci, difficile compesci.' Dicam igitur in hoc libro, qui hujus operis est quartus, quicquid de Willelmo filio Willelmi magni dici poterit; ut nec veritas rerum titubet, nec principalis decoloretur majestas. Ibunt et in istas paginas quædam quæ sub eo, vel in hac terra tristia, vel alias gloriosa, [4]acciderunt, quantum duntaxat nostra scientia attingere potuerit; præsertim de peregrinatione Christianorum in Ierusalem, quam hic apponere non erit injurium, quia tam famosam his diebus expeditionem audire sit operæ pretium et virtutis incitamentum. Neque vero confido quod hæc a me, quam ab aliis qui scripserunt, dicantur commodius; sed ut, quod a multis scribitur, a multis legatur. Verum, ne tam diu procemiari lecturo generet nauseam, jam nunc quod intendo incipiam.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

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[1] *Amicitiæ.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; amicitiarum, *C.*

[2] *Sanctus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[3] *Juri concinere.*] *A. E. L.*; viri concinere, *C. D.*

[4] *Acciderunt.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; contigere, *C.*

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM

LIBER QUARTUS.

INCIPIT LIBER QUARTUS DE WILLELMO REGE RUFO, FILIO REGIS WILLELMI PRIMI.

ILLELMUS igitur filius Willelmi natus est Normanniæ, pluribus annis antequam pater Angliam adiret. Ingenti cura parentum altus, cum et illi naturaliter inesset ingentia parturiens animus, ad culmen supremæ dignitatis evasit. Incomparabilis procul dubio nostro tempore princeps, si non eum magnitudo patris obrueret, nec ejus juventutem fata præcipitassent, ne per ætatem maturiorem aboleret errores licentia potestatis et impetu juvenili contractos. Emensa pueritia, in militari exercitio adolescentiam egit; equitari, jaculari, certare cum primævis obsequio, cum æquævis officio. Jacturam virtutis putare si forte in militari tumultu alter eo prior arma corriperet, et nisi primus ex adverso provocaret, vel provocantem dejiceret. Genitori in omnibus obsequelam gerens, ejus se oculis in bello ostentans, ejus lateri in pace obambulans. Spe sensim scaturiente, jam successioni inhians, maxime post [1]abdica-

A.D. 1087. William Rufus.

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[1] *Abdicationem.*] This act can scarcely be considered to have been voluntary on the part of Robert.

A.D. 1087. tionem fratris majoris, cum et tirocinium minoris [1]nonnihil suspiceret. Ita a patre, ultima valetudine decumbente, in successorem adoptatus, antequam ille extremum efflasset ad occupandum regnum contendit: moxque volentibus animis provincialium exceptus, et claves thesaurorum nactus est; quibus fretus totam Angliam animo subjecit suo. Accessit etiam favori ejus, maximum rerum momentum, archiepiscopus Lanfrancus, eo quod eum nutrierat et [2]militem fecerat: quo auctore et annitente, [3]die sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani coronatus, reliquo hyemis quiete et favorabiliter vixit.

Sept. 27.

QUOMODO ADVERSARIOS REX RUFUS VICERIT.

Conspiracy of the nobles, A D. 1088.

§ 306. Qua exacta, mox [4]in initio veris primus illi conflictus contra Odonem patruum, episcopum Baiocensem, fuit. Namque, cum ille (ut dixi), solutus a vinculis, Robertum nepotem in comitatu Normanniæ confirmasset, Angliam venit, [5]recepitque a rege comitatum Cantiæ; sed cum omnia non suo arbitratu (ut olim) in regno disponi videret, (nam [6]Willelmo Dunelmensi episcopo commendata erat administratio rerum publicarum,) livore ictus, a rege et ipse descivit. Et

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[1] *Nonnihil.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; nihil, *S.*

[2] *Militem fecerat.*] At this period the custom of receiving knighthood from the hands of bishops or abbots yet obtained. There is a law of Henry I. prohibiting abbots from making knights.

[3] *Die sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani coronatus.*] The feast of Saints Cosmas and Damian is the 27th Sept. Florence of Worcester and other authorities state that William was crowned on Sunday, the 26th Sept. According to the Saxon Chronicle, it was 'three days ere Michaelmas day.'

[4] *In initio veris.*] The conspiracy was formed in Lent; and as soon as Easter came, then went they forth, &c. (Sax. Chron. A.D. 1088.)

[5] *Recepitque.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; recepit, *E.* — Odo was created earl of Kent, A.D. 1067.

[6] *Willelmo Dunelmensi episcopo.*] William de Karilepho.

multos eodem susurro infecit: Roberto regnum competere, qui sit et remissioris animi, et juveniles stultitias multis jam laboribus decoxerit; hunc delicate nutritum, animi ferocia (quam vultus ipse demonstret) prætumidum, omnia contra fas et jus ausurum; brevi futurum ut honores jamdudum plurimis sudoribus partos amittant; nihil actum morte patris, si quos ille vinxerit iste trucidet. Hæc ipse, hæc Rogerius de Monte Gomerico, hæc [1] Gaufridus Constantiensis episcopus cum nepote Roberto comite Humbrensium, et cum reliquis, primo clam fremebant; post etiam palam, per veredarios missis epistolis, frequentabant. Quin etiam Willelmus Dunelmensis episcopus, quem rex a secretis habuerat, in eorum perfidiam concesserat; quod graviter regem tulisse ferunt, quia, cum amissæ charitatis dispendio, remotarum provinciarum frustrabatur compendio. Itaque Odo prædam omnem Rovecestram comportabat, regios fiscos in Cantia devastans, maxime terras archiepiscopi; immortale in eum odium anhelans, quod ejus consilio a fratre se in vincula conjectum asserebat. Sed nec fides verborum vacillabat: nam cum olim Willelmus senior apud Lanfrancum quereretur se a fratre deseri, 'Tu' (inquit) 'prende eum et vinci.' 'Et quid,' (respondit ille,) 'quia clericus est?' Tunc archiepiscopus,

[1] *Gaufridus Constantiensis episcopus.*] Geoffrey de Montbray became bishop of Coutance in 1048. He was chief justiciar of England, and presided at the great trial in the county court held at Pinendene in Kent, between Lanfrank archbishop of Canterbury, and Odo bishop of Baieux. He died 4th Feb. 1093. In Domesday Book he is described as 'Constantiensis episcopus;' but in one place (fol. 165) he is called 'Episcopus de Sancto Laudo,' (St. Lo, a town in Lower Normandy,) and, among the witnesses to a charter granted by the Conqueror to St. Augustine's monastery at Canterbury, is 'Episcopus Golfrydus de Seynt Loth.'

lepida hilaritate ([1]ut Persius ait) 'crimina rasis librans in antithetis,' 'Non' (dixit) 'episcopum Baiocarum capies, sed comitem Cantiæ custodies.' Gaufridus episcopus, cum nepote, Bathoniam et Bercheleiam partemque pagi Wiltensis depopulans, manubias apud Bristou collocabat. Rogerius de Monte Gomerico, exercitum suum a Scrobesbiria cum Walensibus mittens, coloniam Wigorniensem prædabatur: jamque Wigorniam infestus advenerat, cum regii milites qui prætendebant, freti benedictione Wulstani episcopi cui custodia castelli commissa erat, pauci multos effugarunt, pluribusque sauciis et cæsis, quosdam abduxerunt. Præterea Rogerius Bigot apud Northwic, et Hugo de Grentemesnil apud Legecestram, suis quisque partibus rapinas urgebant. Ita totis defectionis viribus in eum, cui nec prudentia nec fortuna deerat, frustra sæviebatur. Namque ille, videns Normannos pene omnes in una rabie conspiratos, Anglos probos et fortes viros, qui adhuc residui erant, invitatoriis scriptis accersiit; quibus super injuriis suis querimoniam faciens, bonasque leges, et tributorum levamen, liberasque venationes pollicens, fidelitati suæ obligavit. Nec minori astutia Rogerium de Monte Gomerico, secum dissimulata perfidia equitantem, circumvenit. Seorsum enim ducto magnam ingessit invidiam; dicens, Libenter se imperio cessurum, si illi et aliis videatur quos pater tutores reliquerat. Non se intelligere quid ita effrænes sint: si velint, pecunias accipiant pro libito; si augmentum patrimoniorum, eodem modo; prorsus, quæ velint, habeant. Tantum videant ne judicium genitoris periclitetur: quod si de se putaverint aspernan-

[1] *Ut Persius ait.*] Persius, Sat. I. 85.

dum, de se ipsis caveant exemplum; idem enim se regem, qui illos duces fecerit. His verbis comes et pollicitationibus incensus, qui primus factionis post Odonem signifer fuit, primus defecit. Continuo ergo in desertores profectus, castella patrui sui Tunebrige et Pevenesel effregit; ipso in posteriori intercepto: captum ad quod libuit jusjurandum impulit, ut Anglia decederet [1] et Rovecestram traderet. Ad quod implendum eum cum fidelibus suis præmisit, lento pede præeuntes subsecutus. Erat tunc apud Rovecestram omnis pene juventutis ex Anglia [2] et Normannia nobilitas; tres filii Rogerii comitis, et Eustachius Bononiæ junior, multique alii quos infra curam nostram existimo. Regii cum episcopo pauci et inermes (quis enim eo præsente insidias timeret?) circa muros desiliunt, clamantes oppidanis ut portas aperiant; hoc episcopum præsentem velle, hoc regem absentem jubere. At illi, de muro conspicati quod vultus episcopi cum verbis oratorum non conveniret, raptim apertis portis ruunt, equos involant, omnesque cum episcopo vinctos abducunt. Rumor facti ad regem cito perlabitur. Severior ille malis, iramque intra conscientiam resorbens, Anglos suos appellat; jubet ut compatriotas advocent ad obsidionem venire, nisi si qui velint sub nomine [3] Niðing, quod nequam sonat, remanere. Angli, qui nihil miserius putarent quam

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[1] *Et Rovecestram traderet.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

[2] *Et Normannia.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

[3] *Niðing.*] Of this word Matt. Paris writes 'Nithing, quod Latine nequam recenseri. Angli, qui nihil contumeliosius et vilius æstimant quam hujusmodi ignominioso vocabulo,' &c. Spelman conceives it may be derived from 'nidus' and 'pullus,' and thinks it may signify the same as 'culvertagium.' Nidering is supposed by Somner (Gavelk. 56) to denote such as were infamous enough to rifle a dead body.

hujusce vocabuli dedecore [1]aduri, catervatim ad regem confluunt, et invincibilem exercitum faciunt. Nec diutius potuere pati oppidani quin se traderent; experti quamlibet nobilem, quamlibet consertam manum, nihil adversus regem Angliæ posse proficere. Odo, secundo captus, perpetuo Angliam abjuravit. Dunelmensis episcopus ultro mare transivit; quem rex, verecundia præteritæ amicitiæ, indemnem passus est effugere. Cæteri omnes in fidem recepti. Inter has obsidionis moras, homines regis mare custodientes, quosdam quos comes Normanniæ in auxilium perfidorum miserat, partim cæde, partim naufragio oppressere: reliqui fugam intendentes et suspendere carbasa conati, moxque vento cessante destituti, ludibrio nostris, sibi exitio fuere; nam, [2]ne vivi caperentur, e transtris se in mare præcipitarunt.

DE PACE INTER WILLELMUM ET ROBERTUM.

Contention and treaty with Robert, A.D. 1090.

§ 307. Postero anno, ut dolor semper retractatione acescit, magno scrutinio rex agere cœpit quo modo injurias suas ultum iret, et vicariam fratri contumeliam referret. Itaque [3]castrum sancti Walerici, et portum vicinum, et oppidum quod Albamarla vocatur, sollertia sua acquisivit, pecunia custodes corrumpens. Nec fuit animus comiti ut resisteret; sed domino suo regi Franciæ per nuncios violentiam fratris exposuit, suppetias orans. Et ille quidem iners, et quotidianam crapulam ructans, ad bellum singultiens ingluvie veniebat: sed occurrerunt magna pollicenti nummi regis Angliæ; quibus infractus, cingulum

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[1] *Aduri.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; notari, *C.*

[2] *Ne.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; cum, *C.*

[3] *Castrum sancti Walerici.*] See Sax. Chron. A.D. 1090.

solvit et convivium repetiit. Ita bello intestino diu laboravit Normannia; modo illis, modo istis vincentibus: proceres utriusque furorem incitabant, homines levissimi, in neutra parte fidem habentes. Pauci quibus sanius consilium, consulentes suis commodis quod utrobique possessiones haberent, mediatores pacis fuere; ut comiti rex Cinomannis adquireret, comes regi castella quæ habebat et Fiscannum cœnobium concederet. Juratum est hoc pactum, et ab utrorumque hominibus sacramento firmatum. A.D. 1091.

QUOMODO WILLELMUS ET ROBERTUS OBSEDERINT HENRICUM FRATREM SUUM APUD MONTEM SANCTI MICHAELIS.

§ 308. Nec multo post rex mare transiit, ut fidem promissorum expleret. Ergo uterque dux ingentes moliebantur conatus ut Cinomannis invaderent: sed obstitit jam paratis, jamque profecturis, Henrici fratris minoris animositas, qui frenderet propter fratrum avaritiam; quod uterque possessiones paternas dividerent, et se omnium pene expertem non erubescerent. Itaque montem sancti Michaelis armatus insedit, et crebris excursibus obsidentem militiam germanorum contristavit. In ea obsidione præcluum specimen morum in rege et comite apparuit; in altero mansuetudinis, in altero magnanimitatis. Utriusque exempli notas pro legentium notitia [1]affigam. Siege of Mount St. Michael.

DE MAGNANIMITATE WILLELMI.

§ 309. Egressus rex tabernaculo, videnque eminus hostes superbum inequitantes, solus in multos irruit, alacritate virtutis impatiens, si- Magnanimity of William.

[1] *Affigam.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; infigam, *C.*

mulque confidens nullum sibi ausurum obsistere: moxque occiso sub fœminibus deturbatus equo, quem eo die quindecim marcis argenti emerat, etiam per pedem diu tractus est; sed fides loricæ obstitit ne læderetur. Jamque miles qui dejecerat manum ad capulum aptabat ut feriret, cum ille, periculo extremo territus, exclamat, 'Tolle, nebulo! rex Angliæ sum!' Tremuit, nota voce jacentis, vulgus militum; statimque reverenter de terra levato equum alterum adducunt. Ille, non expectato ascensorio, sonipedem insiliens, omnesque circumstantes vivido perstringens oculo, 'Quis,' inquit, 'me dejecit?' Mussitantibus cunctis, miles audacis facti conscius non defuit patrocinio suo, dicens: 'Ego, qui te non putarem esse regem, sed militem.' Tum vero rex placidus, vultuque serenus, '[1] Per vultum,' ait, 'de Luca,' (sic enim jurabat,) 'meus a modo eris, et meo albo insertus laudabilis militiæ præmia reportabis.' Macte animi amplissime rex, quod tibi præconium super hoc dicto rependam? A magni quondam Alexandri non degener gloria, qui Persam militem se a tergo ferire conatum, sed pro perfidia ensis spe sua frustratum, incolumem pro admiratione fortitudinis conservavit.

DE MANSUETUDINE COMITIS ROBERTI.

Humanity of Earl Robert.

§ 310. Jam vero ut de mansuetudine comitis dicam. Cum obsidio eo usque processisset ut aqua deesset obsessis, misit Henricus nuncios

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[1] *Per vultum ... de Luca.*] These words have been frequently mistranslated into 'By St. Luke's face!' whereas it means 'By the face at Lucca!' Lord Lyttleton says, 'There is at Lucca in Tuscany an ancient figure of Christ, brought there miraculously, as they pretend. They call it "Il santo volto di Lucca:" it is stamped on their coins with this legend, "Sanctus vultus de Luca."' In an Italian book, called 'Il Forestiere informato delle cose di Lucca,' this legend is given in great detail. The au-

comiti, qui eum de siti sua conveniant. Impium esse ut eum aqua arceant, quæ esset communis mortalibus: aliter, si velit, virtutem experiatur; nec pugnet violentia elementorum, sed virtute militum. Tum ille, genuina mentis mollitie flexus, suos qua prætendebant laxius habere se jussit, ne frater siticulosus potu careret: quod cum relatum regi esset, ut semper calori pronus erat, comiti dixit, 'Belle scis actitare guerram, qui hostibus præbes aquæ copiam; et quomodo eos domabimus si eis in pastu et in potu indulserimus?' At ille renidens illud come et merito famosum verbum emisit, 'Pape, dimitterem fratrem nostrum mori siti? et quem alium habebimus si eum amiserimus?' Ita rex, deridens mansueti hominis ingenium, resolvit prælium; infectaque re quam intenderat, quod eum Scottorum et Walensium tumultus vocabant, in regnum se cum ambobus fratribus recepit.

Expedition against the Welsh and Scotch, A.D. 1091.

§ 311. Statimque primo contra Walenses, post in Scottos expeditionem movens, nihil magnificentia sua dignum exhibuit; militibus multis desideratis, jumentis interceptis. Nec tum solum, sed multotiens, parva illi in Walenses fortuna fuit; quod cuivis mirum videatur, cum ei alias semper alea bellorum felicissime arriserit. Sed ego intelligo, pro soli inæqualitate et cœli inclementia, sicut rebellionem eorum adjutam, ita ejus virtutem impeditam. Porro rex Henricus, excellentis ingenii vir, qui modo regnat, invenit qua commenta illorum labefactaret arte, Flandritis in patria illorum collocatis, qui eis pro claustro sint et eos perpetuo coerceant. At vero

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thor states that it was the work of Nicodemus of the Gospel. See further on this subject in the Rev. J. E. Tyler's interesting volume entitled 'Oaths, their Origin, Nature, and History;' London, 8vo. pp. 289—296.

tunc satagente Roberto comite, qui familiarem jam dudum apud Scottum locaverat gratiam, inter Malcolmum et Willelmum concordia inita: veruntamen multis controversiis utrobique habitis, et fluctuante propter utrorumque animositatem justitia, Malcolmus ultro Gloecestram venit, æquis duntaxat conditionibus, multus pro pace [1] precator; nec quicquam obtinuit, nisi ut in regnum indemnis [2] rediret, dedignante rege dolo capere quem virtute subegisset. Idemque proxima hyeme, ab hominibus Roberti comitis Humbrensium, magis fraude quam viribus occubuit. Cujus interitus accepto nuncio, uxor Margareta, eleemosynis et pudicitia insignis, fastidiens hujus lucis moram, mortem precario exegit a Deo: ambo cultu pietatis insignes, illa præcipue. Namque toto vitæ tempore viginti quatuor pauperes habebat, ubicunque locorum erat, quos cibis et vestibus reficiebat. Cæterum, sacerdotum cantum in Quadragesima præveniens, noctibus in templo excubabat, triplicibus matutinis ipsa insistens, de Trinitate, de Cruce, de sancta Maria; inde psalterium, cum lachrymis vestem infundentibus, pectus succutientibus. Templo digrediens pascebat pauperes, primo tres, mox novem, inde viginti quatuor, postremo trecentos; ipsa cum rege assistens, et manibus aquam infundens. Eadgarum filium ejus, expulsum a patruo, Willelmus reformavit solio, egregia plane et quæ tantum virum decebat pietate, ut, paternarum injuriarum immemor, filium supplicem restitueret regno.

A.D. 1093.

Account of Margaret, Malcolm's queen.

Character and conduct of William.

§ 312. Excellebat in eo magnanimitas, quam ipse processu temporis nimia severitate obfusca-

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[1] *Precator.*] *A. D. E. L.*; peccator, *S. C.*

[2] *Rediret.*] *A. D. E. L.*; abiret, *S. C.*

vit; ita in ejus furtim pectus vitia pro virtutibus serpebant ut discernere nequiret. Diu dubitavit mundus quo tandem vergeret, quo se inclinaret, indoles illius. Inter initia, vivente Lanfranco archiepiscopo, ab omni crimine abhorrebat, ut unicum fore regum speculum speraretur; quo defuncto, aliquandiu varium se præstitit æquali lance vitiorum atque virtutum: jam vero, postremis annis [1]bonorum gelante studio, incommodorum [2]seges succrescens incaluit. Et erat ita liberalis quod prodigus, ita magnanimus quod superbus, ita severus quod sævus. Liceat enim mihi, pace majestatis regiæ, verum non occuluisse; quia iste parum Deum reverebatur, nihil homines: quod indiscretum si quis dixerit non peccabit, quia a sapientibus tenenda sit moderatio, ut Deus timeatur omni tempore, homo pro tempore. Erat is foris et in conventu hominum tumido vultu erectus, minaci oculo astantem defigens, et affectato rigore feroci voce colloquentem reverberans; quantum conjectari datur, metu inopiæ et aliorum perfidiæ plus justo lucris et severitati deditus. Intus et in triclinio cum privatis, omni [3]lenitate accommodus, multa joco transigebat; facetissimus quoque de aliquo suo perperam facto cavillator, ut invidiam facti diluueret et ad sales transferret. Sed de liberalitate ejus qua se ipsum fallebat, post etiam de cæteris, sermo prolixior erit, ut ostendam quanta vitia in eo sub prætextu virtutum pullularint.

His prodigality.

§ 313. Sunt enim duo omnino genera largorum; alteri prodigi, alteri liberales dicuntur. Prodigi sunt, qui in ea pecunias suas effundunt

[1] *Bonorum . . . incaluit.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omni gelante studio virtutum, vitiorum in eo calor efferbuit, *A. L.*

[2] *Seges.*] *S. C. E.*; seges *vel* segnities, *D.*

[3] *Lenitate.*] *D. E. L.*; levitati, *S.*; lenitati, *A. C.*

quorum memoriam aut brevem aut nullam omnino sunt relicturi in seculo, nec eleemosynam habituri in Deo: liberales sunt, qui captos a prædonibus redimunt, aut inopes sublevant, aut æs alienum amicorum suscipiunt. Est ergo largiendum, sed diligenter et moderate; plures enim patrimonia sua effudere inconsulte largiendo: [1]quid vero est stultius quam, quod libenter facias, curare ne diutius facere possis? Itaque quidam, cum non habeant quod dent, ad rapinas convertuntur; majusque odium assequuntur ab his quibus auferunt, quam beneficium ab his quibus contulerunt: quod huic regi accidisse dolemus. Namque cum primis initiis regni metu turbarum milites congregasset, nihil illis denegandum putabat, majora in futurum pollicitus. Itaque quia paternos thesauros evacuarat [2]impigre, et modicæ ei pensiones numerabantur, jam substantia defecerat; sed animus largiendi non deerat, quod usu donandi pene in naturam verterat: homo qui nesciret cujuscunque rei effringere pretium vel æstimare commercium, sed cui pro libito venditor distraheret mercimonium, et miles pacisceretur stipendium. Vestium suarum pretium in immensum extolli volebat, dedignans si quis alleviasset. Denique quodam mane, [3]cum calciaretur novas caligas, interrogavit cubicularium quanti constitissent: cum ille respondisset tres solidos, indignabundus et fremens, 'Fili,' ait, 'meretricis! ex quo habet rex caligas tam exilis pretii? vade, et affer mihi emptas marca argenti.' Ivit ille, et multo viliores afferens, quanti præceperat emptas ementitus est. 'Atqui,' inquit rex, 'istæ

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[1] *Quid vero . . . possis.*] Cicero, de Officiis, II. 15.

[2] *Impigre.*] *A. S. D. L.*; omitted in *C. E.*

[3] *Cum calciaretur.*] *S. C. E. L.*; cum pro libito calciaretur, *A. D.*

regiæ conveniunt majestati.' Ita cubicularius ex eo pretium vestimentorum ejus pro voluntate numerabat, multa perinde suis utilitatibus nundinatus.

Its effect upon the kingdom.

§ 314. Excitabat ergo totum occidentem fama largitatis ejus, orientem usque pertendens: veniebant ad eum milites ex omni quæ citra montes est provincia, quos ipse profusissimis expensis munerabat; itaque cum defecisset quod daret, inops et exhaustus ad [1]lucra convertit animum. Accessit [2]regiæ menti, fomes cupiditatum, [3]Rannulfus clericus, ex infimo genere hominum lingua et [4]calliditate provectus ad summum. Is, si quando edictum regium processisset ut nominatum tributum Anglia penderet, duplum adjiciebat, expilator divitum, exterminator pauperum, confiscator alienarum hæreditatum. Invictus causidicus, et tum verbis tum rebus immodicus, juxta in supplices ut in rebelles furens: subinde [5]cachinnantibus quibusdam ac dicentibus, solum esse hominem qui sciret sic agitare ingenium, nec aliorum curaret odium dummodo complacaret dominum. Hoc auctore sacri ecclesiarum honores, mortuis pastoribus, venum locati; namque audita morte cujuslibet episcopi vel abbatis, confestim clericus regis eo mittebatur, qui omnia inventa scripto exciperet, omnesque in posterum redditus fisco regio inferret. Interea quærebatur quis in loco defuncti idoneus substitueretur, non pro morum sed pro nummorum experimento; da-

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[1] *Lucra.*] *C. D. E.*; rapinas, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Regiæ.*] *C. E.*; avidæ, *A. S. D. L.*

[3] *Rannulfus clericus.*] Ralph Flambard, or Passeflabere. He was raised to the dignity of bishop of Durham, and was consecrated on the 5th June 1099. See Anglia Sacra, pars prima, p. 705.

[4] *Calliditate.*] *A. D. E. L.*; assiduitate, *S. C.*

[5] *Cachinnantibus quibusdam ac dicentibus.*] *S. C. D. E.*; cachinnante rege ac dicente, *A. L.*

baturque tandem honor, ut ita dicam, nudus, magno tamen emptus. Hæc eo indigniora videbantur, quod, tempore patris, post decessum episcopi vel abbatis omnes redditus integre custodiebantur, substituendo pastori resignandi, eligebanturque personæ religionis merito laudabiles; at vero, pauculis annis intercedentibus, omnia immutata. Nullus dives nisi nummularius, nullus clericus nisi causidicus, nullus presbyter nisi (ut verbo parum Latino utar) firmarius. Cujuscunque conditionis homunculus, cujuscunque criminis reus, statim ut de lucro regis appellasset, audiebatur; ab ipsis latronis faucibus resolvebatur laqueus si promisisset regale commodum. [1]Soluta militari disciplina, curiales rusticorum substantias depascebantur, insumebant fortunas, a buccis miserorum cibos abstrahentes. Tunc fluxus crinium, tunc luxus vestium, tunc [2]usus calceorum cum arcuatis aculeis inventus: mollitie corporis certare cum fœminis, gressum frangere, gestu soluto et latere nudo incedere, adolescentium specimen erat. Enerves, emolliti, quod nati fuerant inviti manebant; [3]expugnatores alienæ pudicitiæ, prodigi suæ. Sequebantur curiam effœminatorum manus et ganearum greges, ut non temere a quodam sapiente dictum sit, [4]felicem fore Angliam si Henricus regnaret; talia

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[1] *Soluta militari disciplina.*] Compare Eadmer, Hist. Nov. p. 94.

[2] *Usus calceorum cum arcuatis aculeis inventus.*] 'These shoes, which gave occasion for various ordinances for their regulation or abolition during several successive centuries, are said to have owed their invention to Fulk earl of Anjou, in order to hide his ill-formed feet,—Ordericus Vitalis, p. 682; who also observes that the first improver, by adding the long curved termination, was a fellow (quidam nebulo) in the court of William Rufus, named Robert.' (Sharpe, p. 386.)

[3] *Expugnatores ... suæ.*] Ordericus Vitalis censures the French, and particularly the Normans under Duke Robert, for nearly similar vices.

[4] *Felicem . . . execraretur.*] *S. C. D. E.*; curia regis Angliæ

conjectans quod is ab adolescentia obscœnitates execraretur.

§ 315. [1]Adjicerem his, si esset necesse, quod Anselmus archiepiscopus ista corrigere conatus, sed societate suffraganeorum [2]suorum destitutus, sponte discesserit, [3]duritiæ temporis cedens. Anselmus, quo nemo unquam justi tenacior, nemo hoc tempore tam anxie doctus, nemo tam penitus spiritualis fuerit, pater patriæ, mundi [4]speculum. Hic cum, jamjamque navigaturus, in portu ventos expectaret, ut prædo publicus [5]expilatus est, manticis omnibus et bulgis in medium prolatis et exquisitis: de cujus injuriis plura dicerem si quicquam hoc solo sol vidisset indignius; simul et supersedendum est in historia, quam reverendissimi [6]Edmeri præoccupavit facundia. Anselm exiled.

§ 316. Vides quantus, e liberalitate quam putabat, [7]fomes malorum eruperit. In quibus corrigendis quia ipse non tam exhibuit diligentiam quam prætendit negligentiam, magnam et vix abolendam incurrit infamiam; immerito credo, quia nunquam se tali supponeret probro qui se tanto meminisset prælatum imperio. Hæc igitur ideo inelaborato et celeri sermone convolvo, quia de tanto rege mala dicere erubesco; in dejiciendis et extenuandis [8]malis laborans. Personal qualities of William.

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non est majestatis diversorium, sed exoletorum prostibulum, *A. L.*; *L* 2. has the passage 'curia ... prostibulum,' with this gloss: 'Quapropter felicem ... execraretur.'

[1] *Adjicerem his, si esset necesse.*] *S. C. D. E.*; ad dedecus temporum illorum pertinet, *A. L.*

[2] *Suorum.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[3] *Duritiæ.*] *C. D. E.*; nequitiæ, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Speculum.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; speculum fuit, *E* 1.

[5] *Expilatus est.*] *D. E.*; jussu regis expilatus est, *L.*

[6] *Edmeri.*] Eadmer wrote also a Life of Anselm. See note [1], p. 2.

[7] *Fomes malorum.*] *S. C. D. E.*; gurges vitiorum, *A. L.*

[8] *Malis.*] *D. E.*; criminibus, *L.*

§ 317. [1]Insolentiæ in Deum Judæi suo tempore dedere indicium: semel apud Rothomagum, ut quosdam ab errore suo refugas ad Judaismum revocarent, muneribus inflectere conati; alia vice apud Londoniam, contra episcopos nostros in certamen animati, quia ille ludibundus, credo, dixisset, quod si vicissent Christianos, apertis argumentationibus confutatos, in eorum sectam transiret. Magno igitur timore episcoporum et clericorum res acta est, pia sollicitudine fidei Christianæ timentium. Et de hoc quidem certamine nihil Judæi præter confusionem retulerunt, quamvis multotiens jactarint se non oratione sed factione superatos.

§ 318. [2]Posteriori tempore, id est anno regni ejus ferme nono, cum Robertus comes Normannorum Ierosolymam eundi, monitionibus Urbani papæ (ut posterius dicetur), impetum cepisset,
A.D. 1096. Normanniam fratri suo pro pecunia decem millium marcarum invadatus est. Itaque importabilis pensionis edictum per totam Angliam cucurrit. Tunc episcopi et abbates frequentes [3]curiam adeunt, super violentia querimoniam facientes, non se posse ad tantum vectigal sufficere, nisi si miseros agricolas omnino [4]effugarent.

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[1] *Insolentiæ . . . sectam transiret.*] *S. C. D. E.*; Insolentiæ vel potius inscientiæ contra Deum hoc fuit signum. Judæi qui Lundoniæ habitabant, quos pater e Rothomago illuc traduxerat, eum in quadam solennitate adierunt xenia offerentes; quibus delinitus, etiam ausus est animare ad conflictum contra Christianos. 'Per vultum,' ait, 'de Luca!' pronuncians quod, si vicissent, in eorum sectam transiret, *A. L.* Compare Eadmer, Hist. Nov. p. 47.

[2] *Posteriori . . . nono.*] *S. C. D. E.*; paris arrogantiæ altera vice dedit indicium, nam, *A. L.*

[3] *Curiam.*] *S. C. D. E.*; regem, *A. L.*

[4] *Effugarent.*] *S. D.*; effugerent, *C* 1. *L* 2.; effugent, *C* 2. *E* 1. *L* 1.; effugaret, *A.*; effugient, *E* 2.

Quibus [1]curiales, turbido, ut [2]solebant, vultu, 'Non habetis,' [3]inquiunt, 'scrinia auro et argento composita, ossibus mortuorum plena:' nullo alio responso obsecrantes [4]dignati. Ita illi, intelligentes quo responsio tenderet, capsas sanctorum nudaverunt, crucifixos despoliaverunt, calices conflarunt, non in usum pauperum, sed in fiscum regium: quicquid enim pene sancta servavit [5]avorum parcitas, [6]illorum grassatorum absumsit aviditas.

§ 319. Nihilo secius in homines [7]grassabantur; primo pecuniam, deinde terras auferentes. Non pauperem tenuitas, non opulentum copia tuebatur: venationes, quas rex primo indulserat, adeo prohibuit ut capitale esset supplicium prendisse cervum. [8]Quapropter multa severitate, quam nulla condiebat dulcedo, factum est ut sæpe contra ejus salutem a ducibus conjuraretur: quorum unus, Robertus de Molbrei comes Humbronensium, orta inter eum et regem non modica controversia verborum, in provinciam juris sui abiit, ingentia contra dominum suum molimina conaturus; sed subsequente illo captus, et æternis vinculis irretitus est. Alter, Willelmus de Ou, proditionis apud regem accusatus, delatoremque ad duellum provocans, dum se segniter expurgat, cæcatus et extesticulatus est. Plures illa delatio involvit, innocentes [9]plane et probos viros.

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[1] *Curiales.*] *S. C. D. E.*; ille, *A. L.*

[2] *Solebant.*] *S. C. D. E.*; solebat, *A. L.*

[3] *Inquiunt.*] *S. C. D. E.*; inquit, *A. L.*

[4] *Dignati.*] *S. C. D. E.*; dignatus, *A. L.*

[5] *Avorum.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; aliorum, *E* 1.

[6] *Illorum grassatorum.*] *S. C. D. E.*; hominis unius, *A. L.*

[7] *Grassabantur.*] *S. C. D. E.*; grassabatur, *A. L.*

[8] *Quapropter . . . factum est.*] *D. E.*; Quibus artibus ita amorem provincialium a se effugaverat, *L.*

[9] *Plane.*] *A. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S. C.*

Ex his fuit Willelmus de Alderia, speciosæ personæ homo et compater regis. Is patibulo affigi jussus, Osmundo episcopo Salesbiriæ confessus, et per omnes ecclesias oppidi flagellatus est. Itaque, dispersis ad inopes vestibus, ad suspendium nudus ibat; delicatam carnem frequentibus super lapides genuflectionibus cruentans. Episcopo et populo sequente ad locum supplicii ita satisfecit: 'Sic,' inquit, 'adjuvet Deus animam meam et a malis [1]liberet, ut [2]de re de qua accusor immunis sum: et quidem sententia de me prolata non revocabitur, sed volo omnes homines innocentiæ meæ esse conscios.' Tunc dicta commendatione animæ, et aspersa aqua benedicta, episcopus discessit. Ille appensus est admirando fortitudinis spectaculo, ut nec moriturus gemitum, nec moriens produceret suspirium.

§ 320. Veruntamen sunt quædam de rege præclaræ magnanimitatis exempla, quæ posteris non invidebo. Venationi in quadam sylva intentum nuncius detinuit ex transmarinis partibus, obsessam esse civitatem Cinomannis, quam nuper fratre profecto suæ potestati adjecerat. Statim ergo ut expeditus erat retorsit equum, iter ad
A.D. 1099. mare convertens. Admonentibus ducibus exercitum advocandum, paratos componendos, 'Videbo,' [3]ait, 'quis me sequetur; putatis me non habiturum homines? si cognovi juventutem meam, etiam naufragio ad me venisse volet.' Hoc igitur modo pene solus ad mare pervenit. Erat tunc nubilus aer et ventus contrarius; flatus violentia terga maris verrebat. Illum statim transfretare volentem nautæ exorant ut pacem pelagi

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[1] *Liberet.*] *A. D. E. L.*; eruat, *S. C.*

[2] *De re de qua.*] *D. E* 1.; de re qua, *A. C. E* 2. *L.*; de hac re qua, *S.*

[3] *Ait.*] *A. D. E. L.*; inquit, *S. C.*

et ventorum clementiam operiatur. 'Atqui,' inquit rex, 'nunquam audivi regem naufragio interiisse. Quin potius solvite retinacula navium, videbitis elementa jam conspirata in meum obsequium.' Ponto transito, obsessores, ejus audita fama, dissiliunt. Auctor turbarum, Helias quidam, capitur; cui ante se adducto rex ludibundus, 'Habeo te, magister!' [1]dixit. [2]At vero illius alta nobilitas, quæ nesciret in tanto etiam periculo [3]humilia sapere, humilia loqui: 'Fortuitu,' inquit, 'me cepisti; sed si possem evadere, novi quid facerem.' Tum Willelmus, præ furore fere extra se positus, et obuncans Heliam, 'Tu,' inquit, 'nebulo! tu, quid faceres? Discede, abi, fuge! concedo tibi ut facias quicquid poteris: et, per vultum de Luca! nihil, si me viceris, pro hac venia tecum paciscar.' [4]Nec inferius factum verbo fuit, sed continuo dimisit evadere, miratus potius quam insectatus fugientem. Quis talia de illiterato homine crederet? Et fortassis erit aliquis qui, [5]Lucanum legens, falso opinetur Willelmum hæc exempla de Julio Cæsare mutuatum esse: sed non erat ei tantum studii vel otii ut literas unquam audiret; immo calor [6]mentis ingenitus, et conscia virtus, eum talia exprimere cogebant. Et profecto, si Christianitas nostra pateretur, sicut olim anima Euforbii transisse dicta est in Pythagoram Samium,

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[1] *Dixit.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; inquit, *S.*

[2] *At vero illius alta nobilitas, quæ nesciret.*] *A. D. E. L.*; at ille, cujus alta nobilitas nesciret, *S. C.*

[3] *Humilia.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[4] *Nec ... fugientem.*] Hélie comte de Maine, being taken by Robert de Bellême in 1098, and delivered into the king's hands, purchased his liberty only by the surrender of the city of Mans, as testified by Ordericus Vitalis.

[5] *Lucanum.*] Pharsalia, lib. II. 515; v. 580.

[6] *Mentis.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

ita possit dici quod anima Julii Cæsaris transierit in regem Willelmum.

§ 321. Unum ædificium, et ipsum permaximum, [1]domum in Londonia incepit et perfecit, non parcens expensis dummodo liberalitatis suæ magnificentiam exhiberet; et mores quidem ejus ex his, quæ diximus, animadvertere poterit lector. Si quis vero desiderat scire corporis ejus qualitatem, noverit eum fuisse corpore quadrato, colore rufo, crine subflavo, fronte fenestrata, oculo vario, quibusdam intermicantibus guttis distincto; præcipuo robore, quanquam non magnæ staturæ, et ventre paulo projectiore. Eloquentiæ nullæ, sed titubantia linguæ notabilis, maxime cum ira succresceret. Plura sub eo subita et tristia acciderunt, quæ singulatim per annos ejus digeremus, veritati maxime secundum chronicorum fidem inservientes.

Description of William's person.

Remarkable occurrences during his reign.

A.D. 1089. Aug. 11.

§ 322. Secundo anno regni ejus terræ motus ingens totam Angliam exterruit tertio idus Augusti, horrendo miraculo, ut ædificia omnia eminus resilirent, et mox pristino more residerent. Secuta est inopia [2]omnium fructuum; tarda maturitas frugum, ut vix ad festum sancti Andreæ messes reconderentur.

A.D. 1091. Oct. 15.

§ 323. Quarto anno tumultus fulgurum, motus turbinum; denique idus Octobris apud Winchelcumbam ictus de cœlo emissus latus turris impulit tanta vi, ut, debilitata maceria in confinio tecti, ingens foramen ad modum humanæ grossitudinis aperiretur. Ibi ingressus trabem maxi-

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[1] *Domum in Londonia incepit.*] It has been inferred from this passage that Malmesbury states the Tower of London was built by William Rufus. There appears, however, little doubt that the principal building, now called the White Tower, was commenced by the Conqueror, and finished by Rufus, under the superintendence of Gundulph bishop of Rochester.

[2] *Omnium.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

mam perculit, ut fragmina [1]in tota spargerentur ecclesia, quin et crucifixi caput cum dextra tibia, et imaginem sanctæ Mariæ dejecit. Secutus est odor teterrimus, hominum importabilis naribus. Tandem monachi, felici ausu irrumpentes, benedictæ aquæ aspergine præstigias inimici effugarunt.

§ 324. Quid illud omnibus incognitum seculis? discordia ventorum inter se dissidentium, ab euro-austro veniens, decimo sexto kalendas Novembris Londoniæ plusquam [2]secentas domos effregit. Cumulabantur ecclesiæ cum domibus, maceriæ cum parietibus. Majus quoque scelus furor ventorum ausus, tectum ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ quæ 'ad Arcus' dicitur pariter sublevavit, et duos homines ibi obruit. Ferebanturque tigna cum trabibus per inane, spectaculo a longe visentibus, timori prope stantibus ne obruerentur. Quatuor tigna, sex et viginti pedes longa, tanta vi in humum impacta sunt ut vix quatuor pedes extarent. Notabili visu quomodo duritiem stratæ publicæ perruperint, eo ibi ordine posita quo in tecto manu artificis fuerant locata, quoad ob impedimenta transeuntium ad planitiem terræ sunt desecta, quod aliter erui nequirent. Oct. 17.

§ 325. Quinto anno eadem violentia fulminis apud Salesbiriam tectum turris ecclesiæ omnino disjecit, multumque maceriam labefactavit, quinta sane die postquam eam dedicaverat Osmundus, præclaræ memoriæ episcopus. A.D. 1092.

§ 326. Sexto anno tantum fuit pluviarum diluvium, tanta tempestas imbrium, quantum nullus meminerat. Mox, accedente hyeme, fluvii ita sunt congelati ut essent pervii equitantibus et A.D. 1093.

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[1] *In tota spargerentur ecclesia.*] *A. D. E. L.*; per totam spargerentur ecclesiam, *S. C.*

[2] *Secentas.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; centenas, *S.* (var. lect.)

plaustra ducentibus; nec mora, resoluto gelu, impetu glacialium crustarum pontes effracti.

A.D. 1094. § 327. Septimo anno, propter tributa quæ rex in Normannia positus edixerat, agricultura defecit: qua fatiscente, fames e vestigio; ea quoque invalescente, mortalitas hominum subsecuta, adeo crebra ut deesset morituris cura, mortuis sepultura. Tunc etiam Walenses in Normannos efferati, Cestrensem pagum et partem Scrobesbiriensis depopulati, Anglesiam armis obtinuere.

A.D. 1097. Oct. 1. § 328. Decimo anno kalendis Octobris apparuit cometes, quindecim diebus majorem crinem emittens ad orientem, minorem versus euro-austrum: apparuerunt et aliæ stellæ, quasi jacula inter se emittentes. Ille fuit annus quo Anselmus lux Angliæ, ultro tenebras erroneorum effugiens, Romam ivit.

A.D. 1098. § 329. Undecimo anno rex Noricorum Magnus, cum Haroldo filio Haroldi regis quondam Angliæ, Orcadas insulas et Mevanias, et si quæ aliæ in oceano jacent, armis subegit; jamque Angliam per Anglesiam obstinatus petebat: sed occurrerunt ei comites, Hugo Cestrensis, et Hugo Scrobesbiriensis; et, antequam continentem ingrederetur, armis eum expulerunt. Cecidit ibi Hugo Scrobesbiriensis, eminus ferreo hastili perfossus.

A.D. 1099. § 330. Duodecimo anno fluctus marinus per Tamesim fluvium ascendit, et villas multas cum hominibus mersit.

A.D. 1100. § 331. Tertiodecimo anno, qui et extremus fuit vitæ, multa adversa: hoc quoque maxime horrendum, quod visibiliter diabolus apparuit hominibus in saltibus et deviis, transeuntes allocutus. Præterea in pago Berrucscire, in villa [1] Hamstede, continuis quindecim diebus fons sanguinem

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[1] *Hamstede.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; Finghamsted, *S.* (var. lect.)

tam ubertim manavit ut vicinum vadum inficeret. Audiebat ille hæc, et [1]ridebat; nec sua somnia de se, nec aliorum visa, curans.

§ 332. Multa de ipsius [2]nece et prævisa et prædicta homines ferunt, quorum tria probabilium relatorum testimonio lecturis communicabo. Edmerus, nostrorum temporum historicus sinceritate veritatis laudandus, dicit nobilem illum exulem Anselmum, cum quo pariter omnis religio exulabat, Marcenniacum venisse, ut Hugonis abbatis Cluniacensis conscientiæ querelas curarum suarum ingereret. Ibi, cum de rege Willelmo sermo volutaretur, abbatem prædictum dixisse, proxima nocte regem illum ante Deum ductum, et adjudicatum librato judicio, tristem [3]damnationis subiisse sententiam. Id quo modo nosset, nec ipse tunc exposuit, nec aliquis audientium requisivit: veruntamen, pro contuitu religionis ejus, nulli præsentium de fide dictorum inhæsit ambiguum. Ejus erat vitæ Hugo, ejus famæ, ut omnes ejus [4]suspicerent eloquium, mirarentur consilium, quasi ex cœlesti aditu insonuisset oraculum. Nec multo post occiso, ut dicemus, rege, venit nuncius ut sedem suam dignaretur archiepiscopus.

§ 333. Pridie quam [5]excederet vita, vidit per quietem se phlebotomi ictu sanguinem emittere; radium cruoris in cœlum usque protentum lucem obnubilare, diem interpolare. Ita, inclamata sancta Maria, somno excussus, lumen inferri præcepit, et cubicularios a se discedere vetuit.

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[1] *Ridebat.*] *S. C. D. E.*; garriebat, *A. L.*

[2] *Nece.*] *S. C. D. E.*; interitu, *A. L.*

[3] *Damnationis.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[4] *Suspicerent.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; susciperent, *S.* (var. lect.)

[5] *Excederet vita.*] *D. E.*; periret, *L.*

Tunc aliquot horis [1]antelucanis nonnihil vigilatum. Paulo post, cum jam Aurora diem invehere meditaretur, monachus quidam transmarinus retulit Roberto filio Hamonis, viro magnatum principi, somnium quod eadem nocte de rege viderat, mirum et horrendum: Quod in quandam ecclesiam venerat, superbo gestu et insolenti, ut solebat, circumstantes despiciens. Tunc, crucifixum mordicus apprehendens, brachia illi corroserit, crura pene truncaverit. Crucifixum diu tolerasse, sed tandem pede ita regem depulisse ut supinus caderet: ex ore jacentis tam effusam flammam exisse, [2]ut fumeorum voluminum orbes etiam sidera lamberent. Hoc somnium Robertus non negligendum arbitratus, regi confestim, quod ei a secretis erat, intulit: at ille cachinnos ingeminans, 'Monachus,' inquit, 'est, et causa nummorum monachaliter somniat; date ei centum solidos.' Multum tamen motus, diu cunctatus est an in sylvam sicut intenderat iret, suadentibus amicis ne suo dispendio veritatem somniorum experiretur. Itaque ante cibum venatu abstinuit, seriis negotiis [3]cruditatem indomitæ mentis eructuans; ferunt, ea die largiter epulatum, crebrioribus quam consueverat poculis frontem serenasse. Mox igitur post cibum in saltum contendit, paucis comitatus; quorum familiarissimus erat [4]Walterius cognomento Tirel,

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[1] *Antelucanis.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; antelucanum, *E* 1.

[2] *Ut fumeorum . . . lamberent.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; ut fumi magnitudo etiam sidera obnubilaret, *A.*

[3] *Cruditatem.*] *A. D. E. L.*; crudelitatem, *S. C.*

[4] *Walterius cognomento Tirel.*] The tradition of William having met his death by the hand of Sir Walter Tirel, whilst hunting in the New Forest, is generally received; but Suger, a contemporary historian, and, as it seems, a friend of Tirel, in his Life of Louis le Gros king of France, alluding to the death of Rufus, observes, 'Imponebatur a quibusdam cuidam nobili Gualtero Tyrello quod eum sagitta perfoderat: quem, cum nec timeret nec speraret, jurejurando sæpius audivimus quasi sacrosanctum asserere, quod ea die nec in eam par-

qui de Francia, liberalitate regis adductus, venerat. Is, cæteris per moram venationis, quo quemque casus tulerat, dispersis, solus cum eo remanserat. [1]Jamque Phœbo in oceanum proclivi, rex cervo ante se transeunti, extento nervo et emissa sagitta, non adeo sævum vulnus inflixit; [2]diutile adhuc fugitantem vivacitate oculorum prosecutus, opposita contra violentiam solarium radiorum manu. Tunc Walterius pulchrum facinus animo parturiens, ut, rege alias interim intento, ipse alterum cervum qui forte propter transibat prosterneret, inscius et impotens regium pectus (Deus bone!) lethali arundine trajecit. Saucius ille nullum verbum emisit; sed ligno sagittæ quantum extra corpus extabat effracto, moxque supra vulnus cadens, mortem acceleravit. Accurrit Walterius; sed, quia nec sensum nec vocem hausit, perniciter cornipedem insiliens, beneficio calcarium probe evasit. Nec vero fuit qui persequeretur, illis conniventibus, istis miserantibus, omnibus postremo alia molientibus; pars receptacula sua munire, pars furtivas prædas agere, pars regem novum jamjamque circumspicere. Pauci rusticanorum cadaver, in rheda caballaria compositum, Wintoniam in episcopatum devexere, cruore undatim per totam viam stillante. Ibi infra ambitum turris, multorum procerum conventu, paucorum planctu, terræ traditum. [3]Secuta est posteriori anno

The death of William Rufus. A.D. 1100. Aug. 2.

A.D. 1107.

tem sylvæ, in qua rex venabatur, venerit, nec eum in sylva omnino viderit.'—See also Eadmer, Hist. Nov. p. 54, and Ord. Vital. Hist. Eccles. lib. x. p. 783.

[1] *Jamque.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; Itaque, *E* 1.

[2] *Diutile.*] *C. D. E. L.*; diutine, *A. S.*

[3] *Secuta est . . . sepultus fuisset.*] *S. C. D. E.*; Neque defuere opiniones quorundam, dicentium ruinam turris, quæ posterioribus annis accidit, peccatis illius contigisse, quod injuria fuerit illum sacrato tumulari loco qui tota vita peculans et lubricus, moriens etiam Christiano caruerit viatico, *A. L.*—The tower fell on the 7th of October 1107. An. Winton.; Angl. Sacr. pars I. p. 297.

ruina turris: de qua re quæ opiniones fuerint parco dicere, ne videar [1]nugis credere; præsertim cum, pro instabilitate operis, machina ruinam fecisse potuisset etiamsi nunquam ipse ibi sepultus fuisset. Obiit anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo centesimo, regni tertio decimo, nonas Augusti quarto, major quadragenario, ingentia præsumens, et ingentia, si pensa Parcarum evolvere, vel violentiam fortunæ abrumpere et eluctari potuisset, facturus. Tanta vis erat animi, ut [2]quodlibet sibi regnum promittere auderet. Denique ante proximam diem mortis interrogatus ubi festum suum in natali [3]teneret, respondit Pictavis, quod comes Pictavensis, Ierosolymam ire gestiens, ei terram suam pro pecunia invadaturus dicebatur. Ita paternis possessionibus non contentus, majorisque gloriæ spe [4]raptatus, indebitis incubabat honoribus. Vir sacrati ordinis hominibus pro damno animæ, cujus salutem revocare [5]laborent, maxime miserandus; stipendiariis militibus pro copia donativorum mirandus; provincialibus, quod eorum substantias [6]abradi sinebat, non desiderandus. Nullum suo tempore concilium fieri [7]memini, in quo, delictis enervatis, vigor ecclesiasticus confirmaretur. [8]Ecclesiasticos honores diu antequam daret deliberabat, sive pro commodo sive pro trutinando merito; utpote qui, eo die quo

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[1] *Nugis credere.*] *C. D. E.*; nudis nugis magis credere, *S.*

[2] *Quodlibet.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; quodvis, *S.*

[3] *Teneret.*] *S. D. E.*; celebraret, *L.*

[4] *Raptatus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; captatus, *S.*

[5] *Laborent.*] *C. E.*; nequeant, *A. S. D. L.*

[6] *Abradi sinebat.*] *S. C. D. E.*; abradebat, *A. L.*

[7] *Memini.*] *S. C. D. E.*; permisit, *A. L.*

[8] *Ecclesiasticos . . . merito.*] *S. C. D. E.*; sed quia in præceps pecuniæ aviditate ferebatur, sacros honores sui juris esse dictitabat, *A. L.*

excessit, tres episcopatus et [1]duodecim abbatias desolatas pastoribus in manu sua teneret. Quin et accepta occasione qua inter se dissiderent Urbanus in Roma, Gwibertus in Ravenna, tributum Romanæ sedi negavit; pronior tamen in Gwiberti gratiam, quod fomes et incentivum inter eum et Anselmum fuerat discordiæ [2]quo ille vir Deo dilectus Urbanum apostolicum, alterum apostatam, pronunciaret.

DE CISTERCIENSIBUS.

§ 334. Ejus diebus religio [3]Cistellensis cœpit, quæ [4]nunc optima via summi in cœlum processus et creditur et dicitur. De qua hic loqui [5]suscepti operis non videtur esse contrarium, quod ad Angliæ gloriam pertineat, quæ talem virum produxerit qui hujusce religionis fuerit et auctor et mediator. Noster ille, et nostra puer in palestra primi ævi tirocinium cucurrit. Quapropter, si non invidi sumus, eo illius bona complectimur gratiosius quo agnoscimus propinquius; simul et laudes ejus attollere mihi est animus, quia ingenua mens est si bonum in alio probes quod in te non esse suspires. Is fuit Hardingus nomine apud Anglos, non ita reconditis natalibus procreatus. A puero [6]Scireburniæ monachus; sed cum adolescentem seculi urtica sollicitaret, pan-

Origin of the Cistercian order.

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[1] *Duodecim.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; quatuordecim, *A.*

[2] *Quo.*] *C. D. E.*; quod, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Cistellensis.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; Cisterciensis, *A.*

[4] *Nunc optima via summi in cœlum processus.*]

—— In cœlum quos evehit optima summi
Nunc via processus.
Juven. Sat. I. 38.

A similar allusion to the Cistercian order being the surest road to heaven may be seen in the prologue to Richard of Devizes: 'quanto cella Cartusiæ celsior sit et cœlo vicinior claustro Wintoniæ.' (Chron. Ric. Divis. cur. Jos. Stevenson.)

[5] *Suscepti operis.*] *S. D. E.*; suscepto operi, *L.*

[6] *Scireburniæ.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; Cineburniæ, *S.* (var. lect.)

Origin of the Cistercian order.

nos illos perosus, primo Scotiam, mox Franciam contendit. Ibi aliquot annis literis liberalibus exercitus, divini amoris stimulos accepit: namque cum pueriles ineptias robustior ætas excluderet, Romam, cum consorte studiorum clerico, profectus est; nec illos continuatio et difficultas itineris, et facultatum penuria, unquam cohibere potuit quin quotidie totum psalterium et euntes et redeuntes cantitarent. Profecto jam prædicabilis viri spirabat animus quod non multo post, per Dei gratiam, est adorsus: nam Burgundiam regressus, in Molesmo, novo et magno monasterio, crinem abjecit, et prima quidem elementa regulæ olim visa facile recognovit; cum vero ei alia proponerentur observanda, quæ nec in regula legerat nec usquam viderat, rationem eorum efflagitare cœpit, modeste sane et ut monachum decet. 'Ratione,' inquiens, 'supremus rerum Auctor omnia fecit, ratione omnia regit; ratione rotatur poli fabrica, ratione ipsa etiam quæ dicuntur errantia torquentur sidera, ratione moventur elementa; ratione et [1]æquilibritate debet nostra subsistere natura. Sed quia per desidiam sæpe [2]a ratione decidit, leges quondam multæ latæ; novissime per beatum Benedictum regula divinitus processit quæ fluxum naturæ ad rationem revocaret; in qua etsi habentur quædam quorum rationem penetrare non [3]sufficio, auctoritati tamen acquiescendum censeo. Ratio enim et auctoritas divinorum scriptorum, quamvis dissonare videantur, unum idemque sunt: namque cum Deus nihil sine ratione creaverit, et recreaverit; qui fieri potest ut credam

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[1] *Æquilibritate.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; æquabilitate, *S.*

[2] *A.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[3] *Sufficio.*] *A. D. E. L.*; valeo, *S. C.*

sanctos patres, sequaces scilicet Dei, quicquam præter rationem edicere, quasi soli auctoritati fidem debeamus adhibere? Itaque illorum, quæ procuditis, aut rationem aut auctoritatem afferte. Quamvis non multum debeat credi, si quid humanæ rationis possit allegari, quod æquipollentibus argumentis valeat enervari. Quapropter ex regula quæ ratione et auctoritate nixa, utpote omnium justorum spiritu dictata est, date exempla; quod si non potestis, frustra profitemini illius prærogativam cujus contemnitis sequi doctrinam.'

Origin of the Cistercian order.

§ 335. Hujusmodi sententia, ab uno, ut fit, serpens in alios, merito movit corda Deum timentium ne forte in vacuum currerent aut cucurrissent. Frequentibus ergo capitulis disputatio agitata hunc finem habuit, ut ipse abbas sententiam probaret, supersedendum superfluis, solam medullam regulæ vestigandam. Ita duo fratres electi, in quibus scientia literarum cum religione quadraret, qui, vicaria collatione, auctoris regulæ voluntatem inquirerent, inquisitam aliis proponerent. Abbas sedulo agere ut totus conventus assentiretur: sed quia difficile a mentibus hominum avellitur quod ex antiquo insederit, quia inviti expuunt quod prima saliva combiberint, pene omnes [1]suscipere recusarunt res novas, quia antiquas [2]diligebant. Soli decem et octo, in quibus Hardingus, qui et Stephanus, sanctâ obstinatione pervicaces, cum abbate suo cœnobium derelinquunt; pronunciantes non posse regulæ puritatem custodiri in loco ubi et opum congeries et ciborum indigeries etiam reluctantem animum offocarent. Igitur Cistellas venere, lo-

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[1] *Suscipere.*] *A. D. E. L.*; recipere, *S. C.*

[2] *Diligebant.*] *S. L.*; omitted in *A. C. D. E.*

Origin of the Cistercian order.

cum prius saltuosum, nunc ita frequenti religione monachorum [1]perspicuum, ut divinitatis ipsius conscius non immerito æstimetur. Ibi suffragio archiepiscopi Viennensis, [2]qui nunc apostolicus est, memorabile et omni seculo venerabile opus cœptarunt.

§ 336. Et plura certe videntur aspera, sed hæc præcipue: nihil pelliceum aut lineum vestiunt, nec illud quod subtiliter texitur laneum, quod nos staminium vocamus; nunquam femoralia, nisi in itinere directi, habent, quæ revertentes lota restituunt. Duas tunicas cum cucullis habentes, hyeme augmentum non assumunt; sed æstate, si volunt, levamen accipiunt. Vestiti dormiunt et cincti, [3]nec ullo tempore post matutinas ad lectos redeunt: sed ita horam matutinarum temperant, ut ante laudes lucescat; ita regulæ incubantes, ut nec iota unum nec apicem prætereundum putent. Statim post laudes primam canunt, post primam in opera horis constitutis exeunt; quicquid faciendum vel cantandum est die sine aliena lucerna consummant. Nullus ex horis diurnis, nullus ex completorio unquam deest, præter infirmos: cellararius et hospitarius post auditum completorium serviunt hospitibus, summo tamen studio servantes silentium. Abbas nihil sibi, nisi quod aliis, licere permittit; ubique præsens, ubique gregis sui curam circumferens: solummodo edentibus non adest, quia mensa ejus cum peregrinis et pauperibus est semper. Nihilominus, ubicunque sit, verborum et obsoniorum abstemius; quia nec ipsi nec aliis unquam nisi duo fercula apponuntur, sagimen et carnes nun-

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[1] *Perspicuum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; conspicuum, *S.*

[2] *Qui nunc apostolicus est.*] Calixtus II, A.D. 1119—1124.

[3] *Nec ullo.*] *A. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; non ullo, *S.*; nullo, *E* 1.

quam nisi infirmis. Ab idibus Septembris usque ad Pascha nullius festivitatis contuitu, præter dies Dominicos, nisi semel in die jejunium solvunt. Nunquam claustrum nisi causa operandi egrediuntur; nec ibi, nec usquam, nisi abbati aut priori invicem colloquentes. Horas canonicas indefesse continuant, nulla [1]appenditia extrinsecus adjicientes, præter vigiliam pro defunctis. Cantus et hymnos Ambrosianos, quantum ex Mediolano addiscere potuerunt, frequentant in divinis officiis. Hospitum et infirmorum curam habentes, importabiles corporibus suis pro animarum remedio comminiscuntur cruces.

Origin of the Cistercian order.

§ 337. Hæc abbas ille primo ingenti impetu et ipse faciebat et alios [2]compellebat; sed temporis intercessu pœnituit homo delicate nutritus, et ægre ferens tam diutinam ciborum parcimoniam. Cujus voluntatem monachi apud Molesmum residui cognoscentes, verbis quibusdam incertum an et epistolis, per obedientiam papæ astu quodam ad monasterium [3]retrahunt, volentem cogentes. Quasi enim diffatigatus improbitate supplicum, angustos parietes reliquit pauperum, augustiorem repetens thronum. Secuti eum ex Cistellis omnes qui cum eo venerant, præter octo. Illi pauci numero, sed multi merito, abbatem Albericum quendam ex suis, priorem Stephanum constituunt. Nec ille in vita moratus plus octennio, supremo feliciter conventus est arbitrio. Tum, haud dubie nutu divino, Stephanus absens etiam in abbatem eligitur, dux olim facti totius, speciale et insigne nostrorum dierum decus; cujus quanti sit meritum testantur abbatiæ sexdecim

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[1] *Appenditia.*] *A. E. L.*; appendentia, *S. C. D.*

[2] *Compellebat.*] *S. D. E.*; facere compellebat, *L.*

[3] *Retrahunt.*] *D. E.*; eum retrahunt, *A. S. L.*

Origin of the Cistercian order.

jam per eum factæ, septem cœptæ. Ita ipse, resona Dei tuba, circumpositos tum verbo, tum exemplo, in cœlum dirigit, nihil infra præceptum faciens: sermone comis, facie jocundus, animo semper in Domino lætus. Hinc palam præclari vultus gaudium, hinc clam, illud desuper veniens irriguum; quia, incolatum istum fastidiens, patriam continuo amore desideret. Per hæc favorabilis cunctis habetur, quia Deus amorem viri quem diligit in animos hominum dignanter refudit. Quocirca beatum se computat terræ illius indigena quisquis per illius manum pecunias suas transmittit [1]ad Deum. Plura quidem ille accipit; sed, paucis in suos suorumque usus expensis, cætera in egenos et monasteriorum ædificationem confestim dispertit. Est enim Stephani marsupium omnium egentium publicum ærarium. Abstinentiæ illius est indicium, quod nihil ibi, sicut in cæteris cœnobiis, videas fulgurare auro, renidere gemma, micare argento; nam, ut Gentilis ait, 'in sancto quid facit aurum?' Nos in sacratis vasis parum putamus actum nisi crassi crustam metalli obumbret honor lapidum, vel topaziorum flamma, vel ametistorum viola, vel smaragdorum lux herbida; nisi tunicæ sacerdotales auro ludant; nisi multicoloribus parietes picturis renideant, et solem ad lacunar sollicitent. At vero illi, ea quæ prima mortales falso æstimant in secundis habentes, omne studium in ornandis moribus ponunt, magisque amant splendidas mentes quam auratas vestes; scientes quod benefactorum retributio optima est, munda frui conscientia. Quin etiam laudabilis abbatis clementia cum vel vult, vel velle se simulat, aliquid de jugo regulæ inflectere, illi contra nituntur:

[1] *Ad Deum.*] *A. S. E* 2. *L.*; ad eum, *C. D. E* 1.

non multum superesse vitæ suæ dicentes, nec tam diu se victuros quam vixere: sperare se duraturos in proposito, et successuris futuros exemplo, qui si flexi fuerint peccabunt. Et profecto fiet pro humana debilitate; cujus perpetua lex est, ut nihil maximis laboribus partum diu possit consistere. Sed ut omnia quæ de illis dicta sunt, vel dici possunt, in summam conferam, sunt hodie monachi Cistellenses omnium monachorum exercitium, studiosorum speculum, desidiosorum œstrum.

Origin of the Cistercian order.

DE TRANSLATIONE TRIUM EPISCOPATUUM, WELLENSIS, CESTRENSIS, ET THETFORDENSIS.

§ 338. His temporibus in Anglia tres episcopatus ex antiquis sedibus transiere alias; Wellensis per Johannem in Bathoniam, Cestrensis per Robertum in Coventreiam, Thetfordensis per Herbertum in Norwic: [1]omnes majori ambitu quam ut tantorum virorum debuisset interesse studio. Denique, ut primum de postremo dicam, Herbertus, cognomento Losinga, quod ei ars adulationis impegerat, ex abbate Ramesiensi emit episcopatum Thetfordensem; patre quoque suo Roberto, ejusdem cognominis, in abbatiam Wintoniæ intruso. Fuit ergo vir ille magnus in Anglia symoniæ fomes, abbatiam episcopatumque nummis aucupatus; pecunia scilicet regiam sollicitudinem inviscans, et principum favori non leves promissiones assibilans; unde quidam egregie tunc temporis versificus ait:

Herbert bishop of Norwich.

'Surgit in ecclesia monstrum, genitore Losinga,
Symonidum secta, canonum virtute resecta.

[1] *Omnes majori ambitu . . . studio.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omnes nummorum maleficio, omnes venalitatis ambitu et sacrilegio, *L.*

Petre, nimis tardas, nam Symon ad ardua tentat;
Si præsens esses, non Symon [1] ad alta volaret.
Proh dolor! Ecclesiæ nummis venduntur et ære.'

Et infra:

'Filius est præsul, pater abbas, Symon uterque.
Quid non speremus si nummos possideamus?
Omnia nummus habet; quod vult facit, addit, et aufert.
Res nimis injusta, nummis fit præsul et abba.'

DE HERBERTO LOSINGA.

§ 339. Veruntamen erroneum impetum juventutis abolevit pœnitentia, Romam profectus severioribus annis; ubi loci, symonicum et baculum et annulum deponens, indulgentia clementissimæ sedis iterum recipere meruit; quod Romani sanctius et ordinatius censeant, ut ecclesiarum omnium sumptus suis potius marsupiis serviant, quam quorumlibet regum usibus militent. Ita Herbertus, domum reversus, sedem episcopalem quæ quondam fuerat in Helmam, et tunc erat apud Thetford, ad insignem mercimoniis et populorum frequentia vicum transtulit, nomine Norwic. Ibi monachorum congregationem numero et religione percelebrem instituit, omnia iis necessaria ex nummis mercatus domesticis: providens scilicet successorum querelæ, nullas episcopii terras monachis largitus est; ne illi Dei famulos fraudarent victualibus, si quid donatum offendissent quod suis competeret rebus. Præ-

[1] *Ad alta volaret.*] Alluding to the legend of St. Peter and Simon Magus, who, having undertaken, by means of enchantment, to fly, was, by the adjuration of St. Peter, dashed to the earth and killed. V. Fabricius, Codex Apocryphus. (Sharpe, 402.)

terea apud Thetford monachos Cluniacenses instituit, quod sint illius cœnobii professores, ubique pene gentium dispersi, locupletes in seculo et splendidissimæ religionis in Deo. Ingenti ergo et numerosa virtutum gratia præteritarum offensarum molem obumbravit; disertitudinis et literarum copia, nec minus secularium rerum peritia, Romanæ quoque celsitudini suspiciendus. Fuitque Herbertus mutatus, (ut Lucanus de Curione dixit,) 'momentum et mutatio rerum:' sicut tempore istius regis symoniæ causidicus, ita posterius propulsator invictus, neque ab aliis fieri voluit quod a se præsumptum quondam juvenili fervore indoluit; præ se semper, ut aiunt, ferens Ieronymi dictum, 'Erravimus juvenes, emendemus senes.' Postremo quis in illius facti laudem digne pergat, quod tam nobile monasterium episcopus non multum pecuniosus fecerit; in quo nihil frustra desideres, vel in ædificiorum sublimium specie, vel in ornamentorum pulchritudine, vel in monachorum religione, et ad omnes sedula charitate? Hæc et vivum spe felici palpabant; et defunctum, si non vana fides pœnitentiæ, super æthera tulerunt.

DE JOHANNE EPISCOPO PRIMO BATHONIÆ.

John bishop of Bath.

§ 340. Johannes erat Wellensis episcopus, natione Turonicus; usu, non literis, medicus probatus. Is, defuncto abbate Bathoniensi, abbatiam a rege non [1]gravate obtinuit, eo quod et in curia omnia vænum agebantur, et aviditatem videbatur palliare ratio ut urbs tam insignis nomen celebrius acciperet ex episcopio. Itaque primo in monachos severitatem exercere, quod essent et hebetes et sua æstimatione barbari; omnes terras

[1] *Gravate.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; gravante, *E* 1.

victualium ministras [1]subtrahens, pauculumque victum per [2]laicos exiliter inferens: sed procedentibus annis factis monachis novis, mitius se agere, aliquantulum terrarum [3]quo se hospitesque suos quomodocunque sustentarent indulgens priori. [4]Et quamvis primo cœpisset austerius, multa nobiliter per eum ibi cœpta et consummata in ornamentis et libris; maximeque monachorum congregatione, qui sunt scientia literarum et sedulitate [5]officii [6]prædicabiles. Cæterum nunquam, nec etiam moriens, [7]emendare voluit ut plena manu terrarum servitium manumitteret; successoribus suis non imitandum [8]præbens exemplum.

DE ROBERTO EPISCOPO CESTRENSI.

Robert bishop of Chester.

§ 341. [9]Erat in Cestrensi diœcesi cœnobium Coventreia nomine, quod comes magnificentissimus Lefricus, ut supra fatus sum, cum uxore Godiva, constituerat; tanto auri et argenti spectaculo, ut ipsi parietes ecclesiæ angusti viderentur thesaurorum [10]receptaculis, miraculo porro magno visentium oculis. Hoc Robertus, ejusdem episcopus provinciæ, inhians, [11]non episcopaliter involavit; ex ipsis ecclesiæ gazis surripiens unde [12]datoris manum suppleret, unde papæ occupationes

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[1] *Subtrahens.*] *S. D. E.*; auferens, *L.*

[2] *Laicos.*] *D. E.*; laicos suos, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Quo.*] *L.*; qua, *S. D. E.*

[4] *Et quamvis primo cœpisset austerius.*] *S. D. E.*; et quamvis pene in omnibus insulsi esset animi et parum stabilis, *L.*

[5] *Officii.*] *C. D. E.*; officiorum, *A. S. L.*

[6] *Prædicabiles.*] *C. D. E.*; juxta prædicabiles, *A. S. L.*

[7] *Emendare voluit.*] *D. E.*; emolliri potuit, *A. S. L.*; emendari potuit, *C.*

[8] *Præbens.*] *C. D. E.*; relinquens, *A. S. L.*

[9] *Erat in Cestrensi . . . vindicandi.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; the whole section is omitted in *D. M.*

[10] *Receptaculis.*] *A. S. E. L.*; spectaculis, *C.*

[11] *Non episcopaliter.*] *S. D. E.*; more prædonis, *L.*

[12] *Datoris.*] *S. D. E.*; regis, *L.*

falleret, unde aviditati Romanorum irreperet; pluresque ibi annos moratus nihil probitatis exhibuit. Adeo tecta ruinam minitantia nunquam periculo exemit, adeo sacras opes dilapidans peculatus crimen incurrit, repetundarum reus futurus episcopus; si esset, accusator paratus. Monachos miserabili stipe cibans, nec ad regularis ordinis amorem curavit [1]accendere, nec nisi ad popularem literaturam passus est [2]aspirare; ne vel ciborum affluentia delicatos, vel regulæ rigor et scientiæ vigor contra se faceret elatos. Agresti igitur victu et triviali litera contenti, satis habebant si vel saltem quieti vivere possent. Quin etiam moriturus, parvi faciens scita canonum quibus edicitur pontifices in suis sedibus sepeliri debere, non apud Cestram, sed apud Coventreiam se tumulatum iri præcepit; sua opinione relinquens successuris non indebitum calumniandi, sed quasi jus legitimum vindicandi.

Goscelin of St. Bertin.

§ 342. Hic occasio temporum Willelmi translationem Augustini præcellentissimi Anglorum apostoli cum sociis suis exponi animaret, nisi peritissimi [3]Goscelini præcurrisset ingenium; Goscelini, qui, monachus de sancto Bertino, cum Heremanno episcopo Salesbiriæ quondam Angliam venerat, insignis literarum et cantuum peritia. Is, multo episcopatus et abbatias perlustrans tempore, præclaræ scientiæ [4]multis locis monumenta dedit, in laudibus sanctorum Angliæ [5]nulli post Bedam secundus. Musicæ porro palmam post Osbernum adeptus. Denique in-

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[1] *Accendere.*] *A. C. E. L.*; attendere, *S.*

[2] *Aspirare.*] *A. C. E. L.*; ascendere, *S.*

[3] *Goscelini.*] Goscelin's 'Life and Translation of St. Augustine' is printed in the Acta Sanctorum, Antwerp. 26 Mali.

[4] *Multis.*] *S. D. E.*; pluribus, *L.*

[5] *Nulli.*] *A. C. D. E.*; omitted in *S. L.*

numeras sanctorum vitas recentium stylo extulit; veterum vel hostilitate amissas, vel informiter editas, comptius renovavit. Hujus quoque translationis seriem ita expolivit, ut eam præsentibus monstrasse digito, futurorumque videatur subjecisse oculo. Felix lingua quæ tot sanctis servierit, felix pectus quod tot vocales melodias emiserit, præsertim cum in ejus conversatione certaret honestas doctrinæ! Veruntamen quia de quibusdam episcopis parum laudanda huc usque contexui, aliquos alterius modi disparisque vitæ, sed contemporaneos, introducam episcopos; ne ita videatur nostrum obtorpuisse seculum, quod non aliquem producat sanctum. Sed hanc sponsionem sequenti libro, post enarrata gesta Henrici regis, cui placuerit experietur.

QUÆDAM PRÆFATIO NARRATIONIS SEQUENTIS.

The expedition to Jerusalem

§ 343. Nunc iter Ierosolymitanum scripto expediam, aliorum visa et sensa meis verbis allegans. [1]Proinde, sicut se occasio ingesserit, de situ et divitiis Constantinopoleos, Antiochiæ, Ierusalem, ex scriptis majorum deflorata subtexam; ut qui ea ignorat, et hæc forte invenerit, in promptu habeat quæ aliis cognoscenda ipse proponat: sed ad hæc enarranda ferventiore opus est spiritu, ut consummem efficaciter quod incipio tam hilariter. Appellata igitur [2]in auxilium, ut mos est, Divinitate, tale aucupabor exordium.

DE ITINERE CHRISTIANORUM IN IERUSALEM.

A.D. 1095. Origin of the first Crusade.

§ 344. Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo nonagesimo quinto, papa Urbanus secundus, qui

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[1] *Proinde.*] *A. C. D. E.*; Porro inde, *S. L.*

[2] *In auxilium.*] *A. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S. C.*

præsidebat apostolico culmini, evasis Alpibus venit in Gallias: adventus causa ferebatur perspicua, quod, violentia Guiberti Roma extrusus, citramontanas ad sui reverentiam sollicitaret ecclesias. Illud repositius propositum non ita vulgabatur, quod Boamundi consilio pene totam Europam in Asiaticam expeditionem moveret; ut, in tanto tumultu omnium provinciarum facile obæratis auxiliaribus, et Urbanus Romam, et Boamundus Illyricum et Macedoniam, pervaderent: nam eas terras, et quicquid præterea a Dirachio usque in Tessalonicam protenditur, Guiscardus pater super Alexium acquisierat, iccirco illas Boamundus juri suo competere clamitabat; inops hæreditatis Appulæ, quam genitor Rogero [1]comiti filio delegaverat. Veruntamen, quæcunque transeundi fuerit occasio, magno et illustri adventus ejus fuit emolumento Christianis. Coactum ergo est apud Clarum Montem concilium, quæ clarissima est urbs Arvernorum; [2]numerus episcoporum et abbatum trecenti decem; ubi aliquot diebus primo de catholica fide, et [3]inter se dissidentium pace, tractatus prolixe habitus. Nam præter flagitia quibus singuli licenter incubabant, ad hæc calamitatis omnes Cisalpini devenerant, ut nullis vel minimis causis extantibus quisque alium caperet, nec nisi magno redemptum abire sineret. Præterea symonicus anguis ita lubricum caput erexerat, ita venenato fœtu mortiferi germinis ova vaporaverat, ut totus orbis lethali sibilo infectus ecclesiasticos honores corrumperet. Tum enim non dicam episcopi ad

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[1] *Comiti.*] *C. D. E.*; minori, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Numerus episcoporum.*] *S. D. E.*; numerus fuit congregatorum episcoporum, *L.*

[3] *Inter se dissidentium.*] *S. D. E.*; eorum qui inter se dissidebant, *L.*

ecclesias, sed nec quislibet ad quoscunque ordines, nisi per pecunias aspirabat. Tunc, legitimis uxoribus exclusis, multi contrahebant divortium, alienum expugnantes matrimonium; quare, quia in his et illis erat confusa criminum sylva, ad pœnam quorundam potentiorum designata sunt nomina. Unde, ne longum faciam, totius actionem concilii subnectam; quædam meis sermonibus pro compendio brevians.

DE CONCILIO CLARI MONTIS.

The council of Clermont.

§ 345. In concilio apud [1] Clarum Montem, sub præsentia domini Urbani papæ, hæc capitula finita sunt. [2] Quod ecclesia catholica sit in fide, casta, libera ab omni servitute; ut episcopi, vel abbates, vel aliquis de clero, aliquam ecclesiasticam dignitatem de manu principum vel quorumlibet laicorum non accipiant. Quod clerici in duabus ecclesiis vel civitatibus præbendas non habeant. Quod aliquis simul episcopus et abbas esse non possit. Quod ecclesiasticæ dignitates a nullo emantur vel vendantur. Quod nullus cujuslibet sacri ordinis carnali commercio utatur. Quod eis qui, ignorantes canonum prohibitionem, canonias emerunt, ignoscatur. Quod eis, qui scienter emptas a se vel a parentibus suis [3] possederunt, auferantur. Quod nemo laicorum a capite jejunii, nemo clericorum a Quadragesima usque in Pascha, carnes comedat.

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[1] *Clarum Montem.*] The council of Clermont, in Auvergne, continued from 18th to 28th Nov. A.D. 1095; wherein the decrees of the councils held by Pope Urban at Melfe, Benevento, Troie, and Plaisance, were confirmed, and many new canons made. Malmesbury's is perhaps the best account now known of that celebrated council. See the acts of the council of Clermont; Concil. tom. XII. p. 829, &c.

[2] *Quod . . . servitute.*] *S. D. E.*; Quod ecclesia sit catholica in fide, casta pudicitia, libera ab omni servitute seculari, *L.*

[3] *Possederunt.*] *S. D. E.*; habuerunt, *L.*

Quod omni tempore primum jejunium quatuor temporum prima hebdomada Quadragesimæ fiat. Quod ordines omni tempore vel in vespere Sabbati, vel, perseverante jejunio, in Dominica celebrentur: ut in Sabbato Paschæ, non nisi post horam nonam officium celebretur; ut jejunium secundum in hebdomada [1] Pentecostes celebretur. Quod ab Adventu Domini usque ad octavas Epiphaniæ, et a Septuagesima usque ad octavas Paschæ, et a prima die Rogationum usque ad octavas Pentecostes, et a quarta feria occidente sole omni tempore usque ad secundam feriam oriente sole [2] trevia Dei custodiatur. Quod episcopum qui ceperit, omnino exlex habeatur. Quod qui sacri ordinis viros vel eorum famulos ceperit, anathema sit. Quod qui episcoporum vel clericorum morientium bona ceperit, anathema sit. Quod qui usque ad [3] septimam generationem consanguinitati se copulaverit, anathema sit. Quod nemo in episcopum eligatur, nisi presbyter, aut diaconus, aut subdiaconus, et cui natalium dignitas suffragatur, nisi maxima necessitate et licentia papæ. Quod filii presbyterorum vel concubinarum ad presbyteratum non promoveantur, nisi prius ad religiosam vitam transierint. Quod qui ad ecclesiam vel ad crucem confugerint, data membrorum impunitate, justitiæ tradantur, vel innocentes liberentur. Quod unaquæque ecclesia decimas suas

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[1] *Pentecostes celebretur.*] *S. D. E.*; fiat Pentecostes, *L.*

[2] *Trevia Dei.*] The truce of God was first invented in Aquitain in 1032. It was so called from the eagerness with which its first proposal was received by the suffering people of every degree: during the time it endured, no one dared to infringe it by attacking his fellows. It was blamed by some bishops as an occasion of perjury, and rejected by the Normans as contrary to their privileges. (Ducange, Gloss. tom. VI. p. 682—685. Consult also Robertson's Charles V, vol. I.)

[3] *Septimam.*] *D. E. L.*; sextam, *S.*

habeat, nec ad aliam transeat. Quod laicus [1]decimam [2]nec emat, nec vendat. Quod pro sepultura mortuorum pretium non [3]recipiatur. [4]In eo concilio excommunicavit dominus papa Philippum regem Francorum, et omnes qui eum vel regem vel dominum suum vocaverint, et ei obedierint, et ei locuti fuerint, nisi quod pertinet ad eum corrigendum. Similiter et illam maledictam conjugem ejus, et omnes qui eam reginam vel dominam nominaverint, quousque ad emendationem venerint, ita ut alter ab altero discedat. Similiter Guibertum Ravennantem, qui se papam appellat; et Henricum imperatorem Alamannorum, qui eum manutenet.

§ 346. Posteris diebus processit sermo ad populum sane luculentus et efficax, qualem decet [5]sacerdotis esse, de Christianorum expeditione in Turcos; quem, sicut ab auditoribus accepi, placuit posteris [6]transmittere, integro verborum sensu custodito: illius enim facundiæ vigorem servare quis poterit? Nobiscum agetur feliciter si, propinquam terentes orbitam, per aliquod diverticulum [7]redeamus ad sententiam.

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[1] *Decimam.*] *C. D. E.*; decimas, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Nec emat, nec vendat.*] *S. D. E.*; nec vendat nec retineat, *L.*

[3] *Recipiatur.*] *C. D. E.*; exigatur, *A. S. L.*

[4] *In eo concilio excommunicavit ... discedat.*] 'Philippum regem, cum pellice Bertrada, ab Urbano in concilio Claromontano percussum anathemate fuisse, extra dubium est; vetitum vero ab eodem ne quis ei obtemperaret, dominumque ac regem appellaret, Gallorum nemo quem sciamus, ante Albericum Trium Fontium monachum, ac seculi XIII. scriptorem, asseruit: quod quidem ipsius historiæ fide revincitur, cum ex Gallis, qui Philippum a consortio fidelium legitime segregatum existimabant, nullum legamus hac de causa obedientiam ejus abjecisse.' (Note in Bouquet, XIII. 6.)

[5] *Sacerdotis.*] *S. D. E.*; pontificis, *L.*

[6] *Transmittere.*] There are other orations, said to have been delivered by Urban in this council, remaining; and L'Abbé (Concil. tom. X.) has printed one from a Vatican MS. (Sharpe, 410.)

[7] *Redeamus.*] *S. D. E.*; recurramus, *L.*

SERMO URBANI PAPÆ.

§ 347. 'Multa,' (inquit,) '[1] fratres charissimi, his diebus vobis dicta recolitis; quædam in concilio nostro jussa, quædam inhibita. Inconditum et confusum scelerum chaos exigebat dierum multorum interstitium; veternus morbus volebat cauterium. Dum enim indulgenti fune clementiæ dimittimus lineam, multa modo apostolatus nostri offendit officium quæ præcideret, nulla quibus parceret. Sed fuerit hactenus humanæ fragilitatis quod peccastis; quod, illecebrarum involucris sopiti, cœlestem exasperastis misericordiam, suspensam parvipendendo iracundiam. Fuerit mundanæ temulentiæ quod, legitima non curantes matrimonia, alieni cubilis non pensastis injuriam. Fuerit aviditatis nimiæ quod fratres vestros, illo magno et eodem pretio emptos, ut quisque poterat illaqueantes, contumeliose pecuniis emunxistis. Nunc vobis, inter ista peccatorum naufragia constitutis, portus placidæ quietis aperitur, nisi negligitis. Parvi laboris in Turcos compendio retribuetur vobis perpetuæ salutis statio. Comparate nunc labores quos in scelerum exercitio habuistis, et eos quos in itinere quod præcipio habituri estis. Plures vel adulterii vel homicidii meditatio dat timores (nihil enim timidius nequitia, ut ait [2] Salomon), multos labores; quid enim laboriosius injustitia? qui autem ambulat simpliciter, ambulat confidenter. Horum laborum, horum timorum, exitus erat peccatum; stipendium autem peccati mors, mors vero peccatorum pessima. Nunc a vobis par labor atque metus pretio meliore petuntur. Horum laborum erit causa charitas, ut, præcepto

Pope Urban's speech.

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[1] *Fratres.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; omitted in *E.*

[2] *Salomon.*] *S. D. E.*; per Salomonem sapientia, *L.*

Dominico admoniti, animas pro fratribus ponatis: charitatis stipendium erit Dei gratia, Dei gratiam sequetur vita æterna. Ite ergo feliciter, ite confidenter, ad inimicos Dei persequendos. Illi enim jam pridem (proh! quantus Christianorum pudor!) Syriam, Armeniam, omnem postremo Asiam Minorem (cujus provinciæ sunt Bithinia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lidia, Caria, Pamphilia, Isauria, Licia, Cilicia), occupaverunt; nunc Illiricum et omnes inferiores terras insolenter inequitant, usque ad mare quod Brachium Sancti [1]Georgii vocatur. Quid quod Dominicum monumentum, unicum fidei pignus, ditioni suæ vendicant, et ejus urbis introitum peregrinis nostris venditant, quæ solis Christianis patere deberet si aliquod solitæ virtutis vestigium eis inesset: hoc, si solum esset, frontes nostras onerare sufficeret; jam vero quis ferat nisi multum iners, nisi Christianæ gloriæ invidus, quod non ex æquo divisimus orbem? Illi Asiam, tertiam mundi partem, ut hæreditarium nidum inhabitant; quæ a majoribus nostris æqua duabus residuis partibus, et tractuum longitudine et provinciarum magnitudine, non immerito æstimata est. Ibi olim devotionis nostræ rami pullularunt; ibi apostoli omnes, præter duos, mortes suas consecrarunt; ibi modo Christicolæ, si qui supersunt, pauperculo agricolatu transigentes inediam, nefandis illis vectigal pensitant, vel tacitis suspiriis nostræ libertatis desiderantes conscientiam, quia perdidere suam. Illi Affricam, alteram orbis partem, ducentis jam annis et eo amplius armis possessam tenent; quod ideo Christiani honoris periculum pronuncio, quia fuerit terra illa olim præclarorum ingeniorum altrix, quæ divinis scriptis omnem vetus-

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[1] *Georgii.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; Gregorii, *E* 1.

tatis situm a se repellent quamdiu fuerit qui Latinas literas legat. Norunt literati quod loquor. Tertium mundi clima restat Europa, cujus quantulam partem inhabitamus Christiani? nam omnem illam barbariem quæ in remotis insulis glacialem frequentat oceanum, quia more belluino victitat, Christianam quis dixerit? Hanc igitur nostri mundi portiunculam Turci et Saraceni bello premunt; jamque a trecentis annis Hispania et Balearibus insulis subjugatis, quod reliquum est spe devorant, homines inertissimi, et qui, cominus pugnandi fiduciam non habentes, fugax bellum diligunt. Nunquam enim Turcus pede conserto martem audet, sed pulsus loco longe tendit nervos, et permittit vulnera ventis; et quoniam habet tela mortifero succo ebria, in hominem quem percutit, non virtus sed virus mortem facit. Quicquid igitur agit, fortunæ, non fortitudini, attribuerim, quod pugnat fuga et veneno. Constat profecto quod omnis natio quæ in ea plaga nascitur, nimio solis ardore siccata, amplius quidem sapit, sed minus habet sanguinis; ideoque vicinam pugnam fugiunt, quia parum sanguinis se habere norunt. Contra, populus qui oritur in arctois pruinis, et remotus est a solis ardoribus, inconsultior quidem, sed largo et luxurianti superbus sanguine promptissime pugnat. Vos estis gens quæ intemperatioribus mundi provinciis oriunda; qui sitis et prodigi sanguinis ad mortis vulnerumque contemptum, et non careatis prudentia: namque et modestiam servatis in castris, et in dimicatione utimini consiliis; itaque, scientia et fortitudine præditi, aggredimini memorabile iter. Totis seculis prædicandi, si fratres vestros periculo exueritis, præsentibus ex Dei nomine præcipiō, absentibus mando. Ituri et Christianitatem propugnaturi

specimen crucis vestibus insigniant, ut intestinæ fidei foris amorem prætendant; habentes per Dei concessum, et beati Petri privilegium, omnium absolutionem criminum, et hac interim lætitia laborem itineris allevient, habituri post obitum felicis martyrii commercium. Ponentes ergo ferias sceleribus, ut saltem in his regionibus liceat Christianis pacifice vivere, vadite; illam fortitudinem, prudentiam illam, quam in civili conflictu habere consuestis, justiori effundentes prælio. Ite, prædicabiles per orbem milites! ite, et prosternite ignavas gentes! Eat famosa Francorum virtus, cum appendiciis sibi gentibus, solo sui nominis terrore totum orbem motura. Sed quid vos diutius immoror, ut fortitudinem gentilium verbis extenuem? Immo proponite animis vestris Deificam sententiam, "Angusta est via quæ ducit ad vitam." Esto ergo ut sit semita itinerantium arcta, plena mortibus, suspecta periculis; sed hæc eadem vos amissam ducet ad patriam, per multas nimirum tribulationes oportet vos [1]introire in regnum Dei. Spectate ergo animo, si prensi fueritis, cruces; spectate catenas, quæcunque [2]postremo possunt tormenta infligi; operimini pro fidei vestræ robore horrenda supplicia, ut, si necesse fuerit, damno corporum agatis animarum remedium. Mortemne timetis, viri fortissimi, fortitudine et audacia præstantes? Nihil certe in vos poterit comminisci humana nequitia, quo superna pensetur gloria; non enim sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis. An nescitis quod vivere hominibus est calamitas, mori felicitas? Hæc vobis doctrina, si recordamini,

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[1] *Introire.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; ingredi, *S.*

[2] *Postremo.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; denique, *S.*

cum lacte matrum affusa est sacerdotum verbo; hanc majores vestri martyres prætenderunt exemplo. Mors enim a cœnulento carcere liberat animas, ad proprium locum pro meritis evolaturas. Mors accelerat bonis patriam; mors præcidit reis malitiam: per mortem ergo liberæ animæ vel oblectantur gaudiis, spe meliora præsumentes; vel fruuntur suppliciis, nihil pejus timentes. Dum autem vinculis corporum irretiuntur, trahunt ab ipsis terrulenta contagia, et (quod veraciter quis dicat) mortuæ sunt; nec enim luteum cœlesti, divinum mortali, pulchre cohæret. Plurimum quidem potest anima, etiam nunc corpori juncta; instrumentum enim suum vivificat, latenter id movens, et ultra mortalem naturam gestis producens: veruntamen cum, sarcina qua in terram trahitur absoluta, proprium locum receperit, beatam et undique liberam participat fortitudinem, quomodocunque divinæ naturæ invisibilitati communicans. Gemino ergo functa officio, corpori vitam ministrat cum adest, causam vero mutationis cum recedit. Videtis quam jocunde anima in dormiente corpore vigilet, et, a sensibus seducta, pro divina cognatione multa futura prævideat. Cur ergo mortem timetis, qui somni requiem, quæ instar mortis est, diligitis? Res est nimirum dementiæ, pro cupiditate brevis vitæ, invidere sibi perpetuam. Quin potius (fratres charissimi), si ita contigerit, ponite pro fratribus animas vestras; vacuate ab impiis Dei sacrarium, extrudite latrones; inducite pios. Nulla vos necessitudinis pietas contineat, quia prima hominis pietas in Deum. Nullum natalis soli charitas tricet, quia diversis respectibus Christiano totus est mundus exilium, et totus mundus patria; ita exilium patria, et patria exilium. Nullum patrimoniorum ampli-

tudo remoretur, quia ampliora sunt quæ promittuntur. Nec ea quæ inani spe miseris adulentur, vel ignavam mentem pigro rerum medicamine palpent; sed crebris exemplis exhibita, frequenti usu comprobata. Et hæc quidem sunt dulcia, sed caduca; et quæ centuplicatum [1] contemptoribus suis pretium importent. Hæc edico, hæc mando, terminumque proximi veris affigo. Aderit Deus euntibus, ut eis bonus arrideat annus, tum copia frugum, tum serenitate temporum. Morituri cœli intrabunt triclinium, victuri videbunt sepulchrum Dominicum. Et quæ major felicitas quam ut homo, in terris agens, videat loca illa in quibus cœlorum Dominus conversatus est humanitus? Felices qui ad hæc vocantur munia, ut illa nanciscantur munera! fortunati qui meditantur ista prælia, ut illa consequantur præmia!'

Preparations for the Crusade.

§ 348. Hujusce orationis tenorem scripsi, pauca propter veritatem dictorum incastigato sermone depromens, plura manumittens. Hinc igitur populus auditorum accensus, judicium animi clamore testatur, favens sermocinationi, favens peregrinationi: statimque in concilio proceres nonnulli, papæ genibus [2] affusi, se suaque Dei militiæ consecrarunt; e quibus fuit Aimarus, insignis potentiæ Podiensis episcopus, qui postea exercitum illum [3] rexit prudentia, auxit eloquentia. Igitur Novembri mense, in quo concilium actum fuit, a singulis in sua discessum. Continuoque fama boni, totum [4] perlapsa per orbem, dulci Christianorum animos infecit aura:

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[1] *Contemptoribus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; cum temporibus, *S.*

[2] *Affusi.*] *S. C.*; acclines, *A. D. L.*; affusi *vel* acclines, *E.*

[3] *Rexit prudentia, auxit eloquentia.*] *A.D.E.L.*; auxit prudentia, rexit eloquentia, *S. C.*

[4] *Perlapsa.*] *A. D. E. L.*; dilapsa, *S. C.*

qua circumquaque spirante, nulla fuit tam remota gens, tam abdita, quæ non sui partem mitteret; nam non solum mediterraneas provincias hic amor movit, sed et omnes qui [1]in penitissimis insulis, vel in nationibus barbaris, Christi nomen audierant. Tunc Wallensis venationem saltuum, tunc Scottus familiaritatem pulicum, tunc Danus continuationem potuum, tunc Noricus cruditatem reliquit piscium. Destituebantur agri cultoribus, ædes habitatoribus, totis porro migrabatur urbibus. Nullus necessitudinum amor, affectus patriæ vilis, solus Deus præ oculis; quicquid in horreis, quicquid in tricliniis repositum, responsurum erat vel avari votis agricolæ, vel thesaurorum incubatoris, deseritur; in solum Ierosolymitanum iter esuritur. Gaudium erat euntibus, mœror remanentibus. Quid [2]dico de remanentibus? [3]Videres maritum cum matrona, cum omni postremo familia, euntem; rideres, carpentis impositos, totos in iter transferre penates. Angustus erat limes transeuntibus, arctus trames itinerantibus, sic ruebant agmina serie longa [4]hærentia. Opinionem hominum vincebat numerus, quamvis æstimarentur [5]sexagies centum

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[1] *In penitissimis.*] *E.*; vel in penitissimis, *A. S. C. L.*; vel in penultimis, *D.*

[2] *Dico de.*] *A. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; dico, *S.*; dicam de, *E* 1.

[3] *Videres . . . penates.*] 'The rustic,' observes Guibert, 'shod his oxen like horses, and placed his whole family on a cart; where it was amusing to hear the children, on the approach to any large town or castle, inquiring if that were Jerusalem.' —Guib. Novigent. Opera, p. 482. (Sharpe, 416.)

[4] *Hærentia.*] *A. D. E. L.*; trahentia, *S. C.*

[5] *Sexagies centum millia.*] Fulcherius Carnotensis estimates the number at six hundred thousand pilgrims able to bear arms, besides priests, monks, women, and children. He says that those who assumed the cross amounted to six millions; but that multitudes returned home ere they passed the sea. (Ap. Gesta Dei per Francos, pp. 387–389.) Guibert (p. 556) censures the credulity of Fulcher upon this point. By Urban II. the number is only rated at three hundred thousand pilgrims. (Epist. XVI.; Concil. tom. XII. p. 731.)

millia itinerantium. Nunquam proculdubio tot gentes in unam coiere sententiam; nunquam tanta barbaries imperio uni, et pene nulli, cervicositatem substravit suam. Præcipuum enim erat videre miraculum, cum tam infinita multitudo sensim per terras Christianorum, et non prædabunda procederet, et non esset qui coerceret. Fervebat in omnibus alterutra dilectio, ut si penes aliquem quid repertum esset quod suum non esse cognosceret, per multos dies passim agnoscendum proponeret: suspendebaturque interim inventoris aviditas, dum forte illius qui perdiderat corrigeretur [1]necessitas.

DE DUCIBUS CHRISTIANORUM ITINERIS IERUSALEM.

Departure of the Crusaders, A.D. 1096.

§ 349. Jamque advenerat desiderantibus mensis Martius, quando, senecta brumali deposita, mundus, vernali vestitus juventa, in plagam orientis ituros invitabat: nec illi moras nexuere, tantus ardor animos invaserat. Godefridus, dux Lotharingorum, per Pannoniam iter instituit, nulli unquam militi virtute secundus; de antiqua Karoli magni origine lineam trahens, et cui vere plurimus inerat Karolus tam sanguine quam mente: sequebantur eum Frisones, Lotharingi, Saxones, et quicquid [2]gentium inter Renum et [3]Garumnam fluvios jacet. Per Dalmatiam iter adorti [4]Raimundus comes de Sancto Ægidio, et Aimarus Podii episcopus, par insigne virtutis, viri armis in hostes, pietate in Deum splendidi:

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[1] *Necessitas.*] 'However repugnant this representation may be to the generally received opinion, it is that of an eye-witness, when describing the army assembled at Constantinople. Fulcher. Carnot. p. 389.' (Sharpe, 417.) See Note [a] in Bouquet, XIII. 7.

[2] *Gentium.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[3] *Garumnam.*] It should perhaps be the Elbe.

[4] *Raimundus.*] See post, § 388.

sub signis eorum militabant Gothi et Wascones, et quicunque populus in Pyrenæum et Alpes diffunditur. Prævenerat eos compendio Boamundus, loco Appulus, gente Normannus; namque is apud Brundusium navibus conscensis, Dirachioque appulsus, inde itinere pedestri Constantinopolim per notos sibi tramites contendit: ductu ejus agebat prælium Italia, et quæcunque contermina provincia a Tirrheno mari in Adriaticum protenditur. Hi omnes, pariter apud Constantinopolim convenientes, nonnihil mutuæ lætitiæ habuere; ibique Hugonem magnum, Philippi regis Francorum fratrem, invenere, quod is inconsulte et cum raro milite terras imperatoris ingressus, et ab hominibus ejus captus, in libera custodia habebatur. At vero Alexius, [1]ejus civitatis imperator, horum procerum adventu territus, volens, sed quasi precibus coactus, captionis gratiam fecit; homo tergiversatione famosus, et nihil unquam magnum nisi dolo machinatus. Ipse Guiscardum ([2]ut superius dixi) veneno, uxoremque ejus corruperat auro; fidem conjugalem falso per nuncios pactus. Ipse denique Willelmum comitem Pictaviensem in insidias Turcorum inductum, et [3]sexaginta millibus armatorum privatum, pene solum effugere permisit; indignatus super ejus responso, quo Græco negaverat hominium. Ipsum postremo Boamundum, posteriori tempore contra se venientem ut injurias peregrinorum ulcisceretur, bis terque insidiis impetivit; sed cum parum promoveret, Guidone fratre et toto pene spoliavit exercitu, A.D. 1101.

[1] *Ejus civitatis imperator.*] *C. E.*; hujus civitatis imperator, *S. D.*; omitted in *A. L.*

[2] *Ut superius dixi.*] See antea, § 262, p. 441; and Bouq. XIII. note [c], p. 7.

[3] *Sexaginta millibus armatorum.*] See also post, § 383. Ordericus Vitalis writes 'trecenta armatorum millia Pictaviensi comiti adhæsisse.'

notis artibus toxica vel fluminibus vel vestibus infundens: sed hæc postmodum. Tum vero exercitum urbe arcens, proceribusque blande collocutus, tantum Graia facundia valuit, ut a singulis hominium et sacramentum exigeret quod illi nihil doli machinarentur; quod urbes imperio suo appendices, si adquirere possent, redderent, sanguinis sui periculo alienum mercantes commodum. Soli Raimundo visa est antiquior tuendæ libertatis gratia, ut nec ipsi suum substerneret hominium, nec profiteretur sacramentum.
A.D. 1097. Itaque, coactis omnibus viribus, Niceam urbem Bithiniæ aggrediuntur. Ipsam [1]enim primitus placuerat invadi, quod et viantibus obsisteret, et mortem peregrinorum nuper ibi occisorum ultum ire animati essent: namque Walterus quidam, miles probatus sed præceps, (quia vix in homine uno sapientiam et audaciam conspicaberis, quod altera moretur, altera præcipitet,) incircumspecte circa mœnia cursitans, cum multa manu occubuerat. Eam manum Petrus heremita prædicationibus suis de patria pellexerat.

DE ROBERTO NORMANNO.

A.D. 1096. § 350. Jam vero mense Septembri, Robertus Normannorum comes, frater Willelmi regis, cujus titulum hic liber gestat, iter illud adoriri gestiens, habuit socios Robertum Flandrensem, Stephanum Blesensem sororis maritum. Omnes amplæ prosapiæ comites, in quibus virtus citra genus non erat. Parebant eis Angli, et Normanni, et Occidentales Franci, et Flandritæ, et omnium populorum cunei qui ab oceano Britannico usque ad Alpes mediterraneo tractu jacent. Ita viam profecti [2]receperunt apud Lucas papam

[1] *Enim.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Receperunt.*] *E.*; reperierunt, *D.*; reperiunt, *S.C.*; reppererunt, *A. L.*

Urbanum, qui Guiberto infensus (ut dixi), auxilio Matildis Italiam et urbem circumsonabat armis. [1]Itaque tantum promoverat, ut Quirites, ad gratiam ejus versi, Guibertinos tum verbis tum verberibus lacesserent; nec erat alterutris vel in ecclesiis vel in triviis parcendi animus, donec Guibertus, viribus impar, Urbano sedem vacuefecit, Alamanniam elapsus.

DE URBE ROMA.

Description of Rome.

§ 351. De Roma, quæ quondam domina orbis terrarum, nunc ad comparationem antiquitatis videtur oppidum exiguum; et [2]de Romanis, olim rerum dominis, genteque togata, qui nunc [3]sunt hominum inertissimi, auro trutinantes justitiam, pretio venditantes canonum regulam;—de urbe, inquam, et urbicis quicquid conarer dicere prævenerunt versus Hildeberti Cenomannensis [4]primo episcopi, [5]post etiam Turonensis archiepiscopi: quos hic cum inseruero, non ideo faciam ut alieno labore partam gloriam in me transferam; sed erit ingenuæ mentis indicium, si, ejus non invidus gloriæ, apponam testimonium [6]venustæ facundiæ.

VERSUS HILDEBERTI, DE ROMA.

'Par tibi Roma nihil, cum sis prope tota ruina;
Quam magni fueris integra, fracta doces.

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[1] *Itaque.*] *E.*; jamque, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[2] *De Romanis . . . togata.*] 'Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.' (Virg. Æneid. I. 286.)

[3] *Sunt hominum inertissimi.*] *D. E.*; dicuntur hominum inertissimi, *S. C.*; dicuntur homines inertissimi, *A.L.*—Sharpe quotes a MS. which reads 'incertissimi.'

[4] *Primo.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. L.*

[5] *Post etiam Turonensis archiepiscopi.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. L.*—Hildebert was translated to Tours A.D. 1125, upon the death of Gislebert, who died at Rome about the middle of Dec. 1124, in the same week with Pope Calixtus. (Orderic. Vital. lib. XII. p. 882.)

[6] *Venustæ.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L* 1.; vetustæ, *L* 2.

Description of Rome.

Longa tuos fastus ætas destruxit; et arces
Cæsaris, et superum templa, palude jacent.
Ille labor, labor ille ruit, quem dirus Araxes
Et stantem tremuit, et cecidisse dolet;
Quem gladii regum, quem provida jura senatus,
Quem superi rerum constituere caput;
Quem magis optavit cum crimine solus habere
Cæsar, quam socius et pius esse socer:
Qui crescens studiis tribus, hostes, crimen, amicos,
Vi domuit, secuit legibus, emit ope;
In quem, dum fieret, vigilavit cura priorum,
Juvit opus pietas, hospitis unda locum;
Materiam, fabros, expensas, axis uterque
Misit; se muris obtulit ipse locus:
Expendere duces thesauros, fata favorem,
Artifices studium, totus et orbis opes.
Urbs cecidit, de qua si quicquam dicere dignum
Moliar, hoc potero dicere, "Roma fuit!"
Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ensis,
Ad plenum potuit hoc abolere decus.
Cura hominum potuit tantam componere Romam,
Quantam non potuit solvere cura deum.
Confer opes, marmorque novum, superumque favorem,
Artificum vigilent in nova facta manus;
Non tamen aut fieri par stanti machina muro,
Aut restaurari sola ruina potest.
Hic superum formas superi mirantur et ipsi,
Et cupiunt fictis vultibus esse pares.
Non potuit Natura deos hoc ore creare,
Quo miranda deum signa creavit homo.
Vultus adest his numinibus; potiusque coluntur
Artificum studio, quam deitate sua.
Urbs felix, si vel dominis urbs illa careret,
Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide.'

DE NUMERO PORTARUM ET SANCTIS ROMÆ.

§ 352. Parvane sunt hæc ad demonstrandam in tanta urbe vel olim bonorum dignitatem, vel modo malorum majestatem? Sed, ne quid honori desit, adjiciam et portarum numerum, et multitudinem sacrorum cinerum; et, ne [1]quis obscuritate verborum se causetur a cognitione rerum rejici, erit sermo quotidianus et [2]levis. Description of Rome.

PRIMA PORTA.

Prima porta Cornelia, quæ modo dicitur Porta Sancti Petri, et Via Cornelia. Juxta eam ecclesia beati Petri sita est, in qua corpus ejus jacet, [3]auro et lapidibus parata; etiam nullus hominum scit numerum [4]martyrum qui in eadem ecclesia pausant. In eadem via est altera ecclesia, in qua requiescunt sanctæ virgines Rufina et Secunda. In tertia [5]ecclesia sunt Marius et Martha; etiam Audifax et Abacuc, filii eorum.

SECUNDA PORTA.

Secunda porta Flaminea, quæ modo appellatur [6]Sancti Valentini, et Via Flaminea; et cum ad pontem [7]Molbium pervenit, vocatur Via Ravennana, quia ad Ravennam ducit. Ibi in primo milliario foris sanctus Valentinus in sua ecclesia requiescit.

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[1] *Quis.*] *A. C. D. L.*; aliquis, *S.*; omitted in *E.*

[2] *Levis.*] An account of the walls and gates of Rome will be found in Andrew Lumisden's 'Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome and its environs.' London, 4to, 1797.

[3] *Auro.*] *C. D. E.*; auro et argento, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Martyrum.*] *D. E.*; sanctorum martyrum, *A. S. C. L.*

[5] *Ecclesia.*] *S. C. D. E.*; basilica, *A. L.*

[6] *Sancti Valentini.*] Now called Porta del Popolo.

[7] *Molbium.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; Milvium, *S.* (var. lect.)

TERTIA PORTA.

Description of Rome.

Tertia porta [1]Porciniana, et via eodem modo appellata, sed cum pervenit ad Salariam nomen perdit: et ibi prope, in eo loco qui dicitur Cucumeris, requiescunt martyres Festus, Johannes, Liberalis, Diogenes, Blastus, Lucina; et in uno sepulchro [2]ducenti sexaginta, et in altero triginta.

QUARTA PORTA.

Quarta porta et Via Salaria, quæ [3]modo Sancti Silvestri dicitur. Ibi juxta viam sanctus Hermes requiescit, et sancta Vasella, et Protus, et Jacinctus, Maxilianus, Herculanus, Crispus; et in altero loco prope requiescunt sancti martyres Pamphilus, Quirinus, septuaginta gradibus in imo terræ. Deinde basilica sanctæ Felicitatis, ubi requiescit illa, et Silanus filius ejus, et non longe Bonifacius martyr. Ibidem in altera ecclesia sunt Crisantus, et Daria, et Saturninus, et Maurus, et Jason, et mater eorum Hilaria, et alii innumerabiles. Et in altera basilica sanctus Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis, filii sanctæ Felicitatis; et sanctæ septem virgines, Saturnina, Hilarina, [4]Dominanda, Rogantina, [5]Serantina, Paulina, Donata. Deinde basilica sancti Silvestri, ubi jacet marmoreo tumulo coopertus; et martyres Celestinus, Philippus, et Felix: et ibidem martyres trecenti sexaginta quinque in uno se-

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[1] *Porciniana.*] *A. D. E. L.*; Portitiana, *S. C.*—Now called Porta Pinciana.

[2] *Ducenti sexaginta.*] *S. C. D. E.*; ducenti quadraginta, *A.L.*—The two hundred and sixty martyrs are said to have been shot by arrows in the amphitheatre, by order of Claudius. The thirty suffered under Dioclesian.

[3] *Modo Sancti Silvestri.*] It is now called Porta Salaria.

[4] *Dominanda.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Dunanda, *S.*

[5] *Serantina.*] *D. E.*; Serotina, *A. S. C. L.*

pulchro requiescunt; et prope Paulus, et Crescentianus, Prisca, Semetrius, [1]Praxedis, Potentiana pausant. Description of Rome.

QUINTA PORTA.

Quinta porta [2]Numentana; [3]ibidem sanctus Nicomedes, presbyter et martyr: itemque via eodem modo dicitur. Juxta viam ecclesia sanctæ Agnetis, et corpus: in [4]altera sancta Emerentiana, et martyres Alexander, Felix, Papias. In septimo milliario ejusdem viæ sanctus papa Alexander, cum Eventio et Theodolo, pausat.

SEXTA PORTA.

Sexta porta et Via [5]Tiburtina, quæ modo dicitur Porta Sancti Laurentii. Juxta hanc viam jacet sanctus Laurentius in sua ecclesia, et Abundius martyr. Et ibi prope, in altera ecclesia pausant hi martyres, Ciriaca, Romanus, Justinus, Crescentianus. Et ibi, non longe, basilica sancti Ipoliti, ubi ipse cum familia sua pausat, id est, decem et octo. Et ibi requiescunt beata [6]Trifena uxor Decii, et filia ejus Cirilla, et Concordia nutrix [7]ejus. Et in altera parte viæ illius est ecclesia [8]Agapiti martyris.

SEPTIMA PORTA.

Septima porta modo Major dicitur, olim [9]Sircurana dicebatur, et Via Lavicana, quæ ad be-

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[1] *Praxedis.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Praxides, *S.*

[2] *Numentana.*] Now called Porta Pia.

[3] *Ibidem.*] *D. E.*; ibi, *A. S. C. L.*

[4] *Altera.*] *C. D. E.*; altera ecclesia, *A. S. L.*

[5] *Tiburtina.*] Now called Porta di San Lorenzo.

[6] *Trifena.*] *D. E.*; Trifonia, *S. C.*; Trifona, *A. L.*

[7] *Ejus.*] *S. C. D. E.*; Ypoliti, *A. L.*

[8] *Agapiti.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L* 1.; sancti Agapiti, *L* 2.

[9] *Sircurana.*] *E. L.*; Siracusana, *A. C. D.*; Seracusana, *S.* —It is now called Porta Maggiore.

Description of Rome.

atam Helenam tendit. Ibi sunt prope, Petrus, Marcellinus, Tyburtius, Genuinus, Gorgonius, et [1]quadraginta milites, et alii innumerabiles; et non longe sancti [2]Quatuor Coronati.

OCTAVA PORTA.

Octava [3]porta Sancti Johannis, quæ apud antiquos Assenarica dicitur.

NONA PORTA.

Nona porta [4]Metrosa dicitur, et coram istis ambabus Via jacet Latina.

DECIMA PORTA.

Decima porta et Via [5]Latina dicitur. Juxta eam quiescunt in una ecclesia martyres Gordianus, et Epimachus, Sulpicius, [6]Valerianus, Quintus, Quartus, Sophia, [7]Triphenus. Et ibi prope, in alio loco, Tertullinus: et non longe ecclesia beatæ Eugeniæ, in qua jacet, et Claudia mater ejus; et Stephanus papa cum clero suo, numero decem et novem, et Nemesius diaconus.

UNDECIMA PORTA.

Undecima porta et Via dicitur [8]Appia. Ibi requiescunt sanctus Sebastianus et Quirinus; et olim requieverunt ibi apostolorum corpora. Et

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[1] *Quadraginta milites.*] The forty soldiers suffered martyrdom under Licinius at Sebastia in Armenia.

[2] *Quatuor Coronati.*] 'So called because for a long time after they had suffered martyrdom (martyrio coronati) their names were unknown; and though afterwards their real names were revealed to a certain priest, yet they still continued to retain their former designation.' (Sharpe.)

[3] *Porta Sancti Johannis.*] Porta di San Giovanni.

[4] *Metrosa.*] *S. C. D. E.*; Metrosi, *A. L.*—No notice of this gate is to be found in Lumisden.

[5] *Latina.*] Porta Latina.

[6] *Valerianus.*] *D. E.*; Servilianus, *A. S. L.*; Seasserianus, *C.*

[7] *Triphenus.*] *S. C. D. E.*; Triphonius, *A. L.*

[8] *Appia.*] Porta di San Sebastiano.

paulo propius Romam sunt martyres Januarius, Urbanus, Xenon, [1]Quintinus, Agapitus, Felicissimus. Et in altera ecclesia Tyburtius, Valerianus, Maximus. Non longe ecclesia Ceciliæ martyris, et ibi reconditi sunt Stephanus, Sixtus, Zepherinus, Eusebius, Melchiades, Marcellus, Euticianus, Dionysius, Anteros, Pontianus, Lucius [2]papa, Optacius, Julianus, Colocerus, Parthenius, Tarsicius, [3]Policamus, martyres. Ibidem ecclesia sancti Cornelii, et corpus. Et in altera [4]ecclesia [5]sancta Sotheris: et non longe pausant martyres Ipolitus, Adrianus, Eusebius, Maria, Martha, Paulina, Valeria, Marcellus; et prope, Marcus papa in sua ecclesia. Description of Rome.

DE VIA ARDEATINA.

Inter Viam Appiam et [6]Ostensam est Via Ardeatina, ubi sunt Marcus et Marcellianus. Et ibi jacet Damasus papa in sua ecclesia; et non longe, sancta Petronilla, et Nereus, et [7]Anchilleus, et alii plures.

DUODECIMA PORTA.

Duodecima porta et Via [8]Ostensa dicitur, modo Porta Sancti Pauli vocatur, quia juxta eam requiescit in sua ecclesia. Ibidemque Timotheus martyr; et non longe, in ecclesia sanctæ Teclæ, sunt martyres Felix, et [9]Adauctus, et Nemesius. In [10]Aqua Salina est caput Anastasii martyris.

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[1] *Quintinus.*] *D. E.*; Quirinus, *A. S. C. L.*

[2] *Papa.*] The MSS. read 'papæ.'

[3] *Policamus.*] *A. D. E. L.*; Politanus, *S. C.*

[4] *Ecclesia.*] *A. S. D. L.*; omitted in *C. E.*

[5] *Sancta.*] *A. S. C. L.*; sanctæ, *D. E.*

[6] *Ostensam.*] *E. L.*; viam Ostiensem, *A. S. C. D.*

[7] *Anchilleus.*] *E.*; Achilleus, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[8] *Ostensa.*] *C. E. L.*; Ostiensis, *A. S. D.*—Now Porta di San Paolo.

[9] *Adauctus.*] *A. C. E. L.*; Audactus, *S. D.*

[10] *Aqua Salina.*] Now Trefontane.

TERTIADECIMA PORTA.

Description of Rome.

Tertiadecima porta et Via [1]Portuensis dicitur. Ibi prope sunt, in una ecclesia, martyres Felix, Alexander, Abdon, et Sennes, Symeon, Anastasius, Polion, Vincentius, Milex, Candida, [2]Annocentia.

QUARTADECIMA PORTA.

Quartadecima porta et Via [3]Aurea, quæ modo Porta Sancti Pancratii dicitur, quia juxta eam requiescit in ecclesia sua; et alii martyres, Paulinus, Arthemius, sancta Sapientia, cum tribus filiabus Fide, Spe, Charitate. Et in altera [4]basilica Processus et Martinianus; et in tertia Felices duo; et in quarta sanctus Calixtus et Calepodius; et in quinta sanctus Basilides. Duodecimo intra urbem milliario in monte Celio sunt martyres Johannes et Paulus in sua domo, quæ est facta ecclesia post eorum martyrium; et Crispinus et Crispinianus, et sancta Benedicta. In eodem monte est ecclesia sancti Stephani prothomartyris, et ibi reconditi sunt martyres Primus et Felicianus. In monte Aventino sanctus Bonefacius, et in monte Nola sancta Tatiana, pausant.

DE ITINERE COMITUM DE ROMA AD CONSTANTINOPOLIM.

The Crusaders leave Rome.

§ 353. Hæc sunt Romana sanctuaria, hæc sunt in terris divina pignora; et tamen intra hoc quasi cœleste promptuarium insano furore gens ebria, tum, cum illuc peregrini venerunt, fœdo ambitu

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[1] *Portuensis.*] Porta Portese.

[2] *Annocentia.*] *E.*; Innocentia, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[3] *Aurea.*] *E.*; Aurelia, *A. S. C. D. L.* — Now called Porta di San Pancrazio.

[4] *Basilica.*] *C. D. E.*; ecclesia, *S.*; basilica martyres, *A. L.*

omnia turbabant, et supra ipsa sanctorum corpora civilem libabant sanguinem, dum non possent satiare pecuniarum libidinem. Urbani igitur benedictione freti, comites, transita Tuscia et Campania, per Apuliam Calabriam venere; statimque mare transissent, nisi consulti [1]nautæ propter austrorum violentiam vetuissent. Quapropter Normannus et Blesensis comites, qua quisque poterat, hyemem fovere, apud amicos perhendinantes. Solus Flandrensis ventis vela credidit, præcipiti consilio feliciter usus: ideoque gregariorum vulgus, pars propter inopiam domum revertit, pars pro intemperie soli morbo defecit. Nec non et residui duces, ut videre pacatum classibus æquor, vernali sole redeunte, maris fidem experti, et Christi auxilio illæsi, duobus portibus excepti applicuere. Inde per Thessaliam, cujus metropolis est Thessalonica, Thraciam, et hinc Constantinopolim venere. Multi pauperum illa via morbo et inedia extincti; multi in vado, quod pro rapiditate 'Diaboli' dicitur, [2]intercepti; pluresque profecto perissent nisi equi emissarii, [3]adverso amni oppositi, violenti gurgitis vortices fregissent: ita quibusdam vita procurata, reliqui [4]equis transducti. Omnis itaque multitudo, quindecim dierum spatio, præteritorum laborum indulsit solatio, positis castris in suburbano civitatis; de qua, quia locus se obtulit, pauca dicenda.

VISIO CONSTANTINI.

§ 354. Constantinopolis primum Bizantium dicta; formam antiqui vocabuli præferunt impe- Description of Constantinople.

[1] *Nautæ.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; naturæ, *S.*

[2] *Intercepti.*] *S. C. D. E.*; suffocati, *L.*; suffocaturi, *A.*

[3] *Adverso amni.*] *E.*; adversus amnem, *D.*; in adversum amnem, *A. S. L.*; adversum amni, *C.*

[4] *Equis.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; aquis, *S.* (var. lect.)

ratorii nummi Bizantini vocati: hanc divinitus mutasse nomen, S. Aldelmus auctor est [1]in libro De Virginitate, hujusmodi sententia. Constantino, in eadem urbe soporato, visa est astitisse vetula rugis anilibus arata frontem; mox imperiali chlamyde amicta in juvenculam refloruisse, viridisque formæ decore Constantini pellexisse oculum ut non abstineret quin porrigeret ei osculum. Tunc Helenam matrem, quæ adesset, dixisse, 'Hæc tua semper erit, nec unquam morietur, nisi in fine seculi.' Hujus somnii solutionem Augustus, extruso sopore, jejuniis et eleemosynis extrahebat e cœlo. Et ecce, post octo dies iterum soporatus, visus est videre Silvestrum papam, paulo ante defunctum, qui dulci luminum risu [2]discipulum perstringens, 'Consueta,' inquit, 'egisti prudentia, ut quod intellectum effugeret hominis, a Deo expectares solvendum nodum ænigmatis. Hæc igitur quam vidisti anicula est civitas ista, ævi situ decrepita; cujus jam vetustate quassa mœnia, et vicinam ruinam minantia, reparatorem desiderant. Sed tu eam muris reformans et opibus, vocabulo quoque insignies tuo, et regnabit in ea perpetuo imperatoria progenies. Non tamen tuo arbitratu fundamenta jacies, sed ascenso sonipede, cui quondam rudis Christicola insidens apostolorum Romæ circuisti ecclesias, laxatis habenis, quo volet eundi promptum illi cedes arbitrium; habebisque in manu hastam regiam, cujus cuspide in terram tracta muri scribentur vestigia. Consules ergo

Constantine's vision.

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[1] *In libro De Virginitate.*] Cap. xxv. edit. Wharton. See note [1], p. 44.

[2] *Discipulum.*] The legend of Constantine's baptism at Rome thirteen years before his death was invented in the eighth century. He seems to have been baptized and received the imposition of hands for the first time during his last illness. (Euseb. in Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. 61.)

in terra cuspidis magisterium quo ordine disponi debeant fundamenta mœnium.' Description of Constantinople.

DE URBE CONSTANTINOPOLITANA.

§ 355. Paruit Augustus visioni præclue, et civitatem æquam Romæ constituit; [1] lege professus non debere imperatorem Romæ principari ubi a Christo coronati apostoli principabantur. Fecit in ea duas ecclesias, quarum una Hirenis, altera dicitur Apostolorum; invehens illuc numerosa sanctorum corpora, qui possint contra incursus hostium cœlestium impetrare patrocinium. Statuas quoque triumphalium virorum a Roma deductas, et simulacra deorum ad videntium ridiculum, et tripodas Delficos, in Circo dedit, ad spectaculum simul et ad civitatis ornamentum. Gratumque admodum fuisse ferunt imperiali animo [2] ut illic urbem divino jussu fundaret, ubi et soli ubertas et cœli temperies mortalium saluti conveniret; quia enim in [3] Britannia natus fuerat, ardores solis exosus erat. Est vero [4] Thracia

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[1] *Lege professus.*] *C. D. E.*; lege confessus, *S.* (var. lect.); professus, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Ut illic urbem divino jussu fundaret.*] In one of his laws Constantine has been careful to instruct posterity that, in obedience to the command of God, he laid the everlasting foundations of Constantinople: the words are, 'pro commoditate urbis quam æterno nomine, jubente Deo, donavimus.' (Cod. Theod. lib. XIII. tit. v. leg. 7.)

[3] *Britannia natus fuerat.*] Gloss in *L* 1. 'Nota de Constantino, quod in Britannia natus esset, quæ nunc dicitur Anglia.'—The place of Constantine's birth, as well as the condition of his mother Helena, have been the subject not only of literary but of national disputes. There are three opinions with regard to his birth. The English antiquaries claim the honour for Britain on the words of his panegyrist, 'Britannias, illic oriendo, nobiles fecisti;' but these words may with as much propriety refer to the accession as to the nativity of Constantine. Modern Greek writers ascribe the honour of his birth to Depranum, a town on the gulf of Nicomedia, where his mother's father kept an inn; but Nassius in Dacia is the place where he was most probably born. Its claim is supported by contemporary authority.

[4] *Thracia una*] *S. C. E. L.*; tertia, *A. D.*

Description of Constantinople.

una Europæ provincia, ut poetæ quoque canunt, Hebri fluminis glacie et Bistonio aquilone perfrigida; [1]fœcundæ vicina Mœsiæ, cujus, [2]ut ait Virgilius, 'mirantur Gargara messes.' At vero Constantinopolis, circumflua Ponto, Europæ atque Asiæ carpit utrinque libratam temperiem, quod aquilonares hiatus mulceat e proximo veniens Asiaticus eurus. Porrigitur ergo urbs ingentibus mœnibus, sed eam angustat convenarum innumerus populus; quapropter, rupium molibus et arenarum cumulis profundo injectis, longe itur in salum, et novo commento tellus inventa veteres contrahit undas. Stupet itaque mare peregrinos vitreo in gurgite campos, urbemque suam totis terrarum commodis cingit et pascit. Est enim civitas undique, præter ad aquilonem, mari magno cincta, ambitu murorum juxta situm pelagi angulosa, [3]viginti millia passuum muro complexa. [4]Danubius, qui et Ister, [5]occultis canalibus sub terra influit urbi; diebusque constitutis, ablato pessulo inductus, cœnum platearum pelago importat. Certavere zelo imperiali Augusti singuli decorem addere, quisque arbitrantes aliquid se institutæ debere operæ; iste sanctorum reliquiis, ille divitiis, Constantinus omnibus.

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[1] *Fœcundæ.*] Fœcunda, *D.*; fœcundas, *E. L.*; omitted in *A. S. C.*

[2] *Ut ait Virgilius.*] Geor. I. 103.

[3] *Viginti.*] *S. C. E.*; duodecim, *A. D. L.*

[4] *Danubius, qui et Ister.*] See Pomponius Mela, lib. II. c. 1.; Ptolom. lib. III. c. 8.

[5] *Occultis canalibus . . . importat.*] The Danube empties itself through six mouths into the Euxine. The river Lycus, formed by the conflux of two little streams, pours into the harbour of Constantinople a perpetual supply of fresh water, which serves to cleanse the bottom, and to invite the periodical shoals of fish to seek their retreat in the capacious port of Constantinople.

DE IMPERATORIBUS CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

§ 356. Regnaverunt in ea, post Constantinum magnum, imperatores quorum hæc sunt nomina: Constantinus filius ejus, Julianus apostata, Jovinianus, Valens, Theodosius major, Archadius, Theodosius minor, Marcianus, Leo primus, Leo minor, Zeno, Anastasius, Justinus major, Justinianus, (hic, literis et bellis nobilis, fecit in Constantinopoli ecclesiam Divinæ Sapientiæ, id est, Domino Christo, quam Agiam Sophiam cognominavit; opus, ut ferunt, omnibus per orbem ædificiis magnificentius, quodque certa rerum facie inspectum vincat ampullata verba referentium;) Justinus minor, Tiberius, Mauricius, primus Græcus, Focas, Heraclius, Constantinus filius Heraclii, Heracleonas, Constans, (iste Romam veniens, et quod reliquum erat ornatus antiqui corradens, tegulis etiam æreis fastigia ecclesiarum nudavit, triumpho scilicet apud Constantinopolim de hisce manubiis inhians; sed ei infeliciter illa cessit aviditas, quia, continuo apud Siracusas extinctus, Saracenis Alexandriam deferentibus omnes illas reliquit exuvias;) Constantinus, Justinianus, Leontius, Tiberius, iterum Justinianus, Philippicus, Anastasius, Theodosius, Leo tertius. [1]Hi omnes regnaverunt et in Constantinopoli et in Roma; sequentes tantum in Constantinopoli: Constantinus, Leo, Constantinus, Nicephorus, Stauratius, Michael, Leo, Michael, Theophilus, Michael, Basilius, Leo, Alexander, Constantinus, Romani duo, Nicephorus Focas, Johannes, Basilius et Constantinus, Romanus, Michael, Michael, Constantinus, Theodora imperatrix, Michael, [2]Sachius, Constantinus, Romanus Dio-

Emperors of Constantinople.

[1] *Hi omnes.*] The definitive separation of the empires of the East and West took place much earlier, under the sons of Theodosius the Great, A.D. 395.

[2] *Sachius.*] Isaac Comnenus.

genes, Nicephorus Butanius, [1]Michael: hic, per Alexium depulsus imperio, ad Guiscardum in Apuliam clandestinam fugam composuit; traditaque illi potestate, aliquid se opinatus est [2]fecisse quod noceret Alexio. Unde Guiscardo aggrediendi magna increvit animus, ut inani spe [3]mentiretur sibi acquiri posse per industriam quod alter amiserat per [4]ignaviam; sed quantum istis profecerit præcedens liber patefecit. Est in ea civitate lignum Domini ab Helena de Ierosolymis delatum. Requiescunt ibi apostoli, Andræas, Jacobus frater Domini, Mathias; prophetæ, Elizeus, Samuel, Daniel, et alii plures; Lucas evangelista, martyres innumerabiles; confessores, Johannes Chrysostomus, Basilius, Gregorius Nazanzenus, Spiridion; virgines, Agatha, Lucia; omnesque postremo sancti quorum corpora illuc ex omnibus regionibus imperatores convehere potuerunt.

Siege of Nice. A.D. 1097.

§ 357. Normannus itaque et Blesensis comites hominium suum Græco [5]prostraverunt; nam jam Flandrita transierat, et id facere fastidierat, quod se meminisset natum et educatum libere. Alii, data fide acceptaque, Niceam pertendunt hebdomada [6]Junii prima, quam jam cæteri a medio Maii obsederant. Ita conjunctis viribus multæ utrinque mortes actæ sunt: cum ab oppidanis facile in subjectos telorum omnia genera rotarentur, nec alicujus licet inertissimi manus in confertos frustraretur. Quin et exanimatorum cadavera Turci uncis ferreis in murum trahe-

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[1] *Michael.*] Michael VII. preceded Nicephorus Botaniates, who was expelled by Alexius.

[2] *Fecisse quod.*] *S. C. D. E.*; efficisse quo, *A. L.*

[3] *Mentiretur.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; niteretur, *S.*

[4] *Ignaviam.*] *A. S. C. D. E.L.*; ignominiam, *S.* (var. lect.)

[5] *Prostraverunt.*] *S. C. D. E.*; prostituere, *A. L.*

[6] *Junii.*] *A. D. E.*; jejunii, *S. C. L.*

bant, ludibrio nostrorum excarnificanda, vel ablatis vestibus [1]denudanda. Doluerunt id Franci: nec prius abstiterunt ferro exercere dolorem, quam Turci, extremis malis fessi, die solstitii æstivalis per clandestinos nuncios imperatori se dedidere. Ille, qui nihil præter commodum suum pensare nosset, denunciavit Francis ut abirent; malens urbem servari Turcorum apertæ perfidiæ, quam Francorum suspectæ potentiæ. Jussit tamen distribui argentum et aurum optimatibus, nummos æreos inferioribus, ne se irremuneratos quererentur. Ita Turci, qui jam a quinquaginta annis Bithyniam, quæ est pars Minoris Asiæ, quam Romaniam dicunt, Euphrate transito possederant, in superiores fuga terras concessere; veruntamen ausi sunt, obsidione soluta, exercitum ultra progredientem incessere, auctore quodam [2]Solimanno cui dominium totius Romaniæ [3]obtigerat. Is, coactis sagittariorum millibus æstimatione trecentis sexaginta, nostros, nihil minus quam bellum meditantes, tanta vi aggressus est, ut, ferreo imbre sagittarum inundante perterriti, omnes incunctanter dorsa nudarent. Et tum forte [4]dux Godefridus, et Hugo magnus, et Raimundus aliam viam invaserant, ut et inimicorum solum popularentur latius, et suis pabula compararent facilius. At vero Normannus, ancipiti discrimine permotus, adventum Turcorum, expeditis cursoribus, Godefrido et cæteris per tutos tramites intimavit. Illi, moræ nescii, signis in hostem conversis, socios eripuere

Siege of Nice.

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[1] *Denudanda.*] *D. E.*; dejicienda, *A. S. C. L.*

[2] *Solimanno.*] His Turkish name was Kilidge-Arslan: his kingdom of Roum extended from the Hellespont to the confines of Syria, and barred the pilgrimage of Jerusalem. (See De Guignes, tom. III. p. ii. pp. 10—30.)

[3] *Obtigerat.*] *A. D. E. L.*; obvenerat, *S. C.*

[4] *Dux.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; omitted in *E.*

Siege of Nice. periculo; namque hi jam indiscrete in tentoriis suis necabantur, nihil bello intenti, sed solis lachrymis et precibus auras implentes. Nec rimabatur hostis vulneri aditum, sed in nothos fortunam emittens, nunquam pro densitate cuneorum inanem referebat manum. Sola erat mortis dilatio, quod, quia juxta quoddam arundinetum pugnabatur, equi Turcorum impediti liberis non exultabant cursibus. Sed tandem visis antesignanis optimatum venientium, nostri ex arundineto prodeunt; et [1]acclamato signo militari, 'Deus vult!' dissipatos ordines hostium invadunt, sociis ut ex altera parte feriant innuentes. Ita Turci, cum utrinque premerentur, nescio quid dirum stridentes, ululatibus in cœlum actis diffugere; nec solito more pugna fugaci usi, sed, abjectis arcubus, majus aliquid quam humanum timorem continua trium dierum fuga testati sunt. Nec erat qui eos fugaret; quia equi nostrorum, vix jejuno cespite vitam sustentantes, alacrem persecutionem negabant, lasso statim ilium pulsu [2]defectionem suam ostendentes. Erat enim Asia, terra quondam frugum feracissima, ita moderno et antiquo tempore Turcis sævientibus expilata, ut vix raro exercitui alimoniam ministrare sufficeret, nedum tantæ multitudini, quæ totas segetes depastura, totos [3]amnes epotatura videretur: æstimabantur enim cum [4]a Nicea disces-

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[1] *Acclamato signo militari, 'Deus vult!'*] When Urban II. addressed the multitude from a lofty scaffold in the market-place of Clermont, inciting the people to undertake the Crusade, he was frequently interrupted by the shout of thousands in their rustic idiom exclaiming 'Deus lo volt!' 'It is indeed the will of God!' replied the pope; 'and let those words, the inspiration surely of the Holy Spirit, be for ever adopted as your war-cry.'

[2] *Defectionem suam.*] *S. D. E.*; defectum suum, *L.*

[3] *Amnes epotatura.*] *D. E. L.*; amnes se potatura, *C.*; amnes epotura, *A.*; amnes epotatum, *S.*

[4] *A Nicea.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; antea, *C.*

sere septingenta millia, pars reliqua vel ferro interemta vel valetudine minuta, major domos dilapsa. Siege of Nice.

§ 358. Inde [1]ergo, per Antiochiam Pisidiæ et Iconium urbes, Eracleam venere: ibi signum in cœlo viderunt modo ensis fulminei figuratum, mucrone versus orientem protento. Jamque a kalendis [2]Julii, cum Niceam deseruerant, Octobris mensis [3]nonæ volvebantur, quando Antiochiam Syriæ venere: cujus situm commemorarem, nisi aviditatem meam præoccuparet [4]Ambrosiana in Egesippo facundia, simul et quod vereor ne mihi vertatur vitio quod tam frequenter in digressionibus peregrinatur narratio. Veruntamen quantum suscepti operis [5]narratio postulat, dicam. July 1. Oct. 7.

DE URBE ANTIOCHIA.

§ 359. Civitas est maximo muro circumdata, montem etiam mœnibus [6]complexa; a Seleuco, rege Asiæ, nomine Antiochi patris cognominata; post Romam, et Constantinopolim, et Alexandriam quarto per orbem loco cunctis civitatibus prælata; mœnibus tuta, montibus ardua; magis ingenio quam vi, si unquam capiatur, obtinenda. Fluvius illi proximus, quem modo Fernum, quondam Orontem vocatum intelligo, duodecimo ab urbe milliario accipitur pelago, fluentis rapacibus, Description of Antioch.

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[1] *Ergo.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; omitted in *E.*

[2] *Julii.*] *A. E. L.*; Junii, *S. C. D.*

[3] *Nonæ volvebantur.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; non evolvebantur, *E* 1.

[4] *Ambrosiana in Egesippo facundia.*] Hegesippus, a Greek author of the second century. He wrote an ecclesiastical history in five books, a fragment of which only remains. A work on the Jewish wars, and on the destruction of Jerusalem, has been also attributed to him, and which is said to have been translated into Latin by St. Ambrose.

[5] *Narratio.*] *S. C. D. E.*; necessitas, *A. L.*

[6] *Complexa.*] *S. C. D. E.*; circumplexa, *A. L.*

et ipso impetu frigidioribus, salubris auræ temperie [1]saluti medetur [2]civium; commeatum quoque navium oppidanis invehens, perseverantiam obsidentium quantolibet tempore deridet. Ibi primum [3]Christianismi venerabile vocabulum excogitatum. Inde Paulus, hujusce religionis incentivum et fomes, ad prædicandum processit. Ibi beatus Petrus primi antistitii cathedram sedit; in cujus honore fundata illic ecclesia toto Turcorum tempore illibata permansit: nec minus altera, in honore sanctæ Mariæ consecrata, decore sui oculos spectantium tenebat; mirum in modum, ut cujus persequebantur fidem revererentur ædem.

DE OBSIDIONE ANTIOCHIÆ.

Siege of Antioch. A.D. 1097-8.

§ 360. Hanc itaque civitatem Franci [4]ab Octobri usque ad Junium [5]circumsedere, tentoriis circum muros amne transito locatis: perspectaque difficultate [6]expugnandi, timiditati quorundam obviandum arbitrati, omnes pariter proceres sacramento fecere obsidioni non ponendas ferias quoad vel vi vel ingenio prenderetur civitas; et, ut quod intendebant facilius implerent, castra cis fluvium constituerunt multa, quibus impositi milites [7]castra prætenderent. Aoxianus quoque civitatis admiratus, videns Francos non joco et jejune agere, sed civitatem serio impetere, Sansadolem filium ad Soldanum [8]imperatorem misit,

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[1] *Saluti.*] *S. D. E.*; sanitati, *L.*

[2] *Civium.*] *S. D. E.*; civicæ, *A. C. L.*

[3] *Christianismi.*] *D. E.*; Christiani olim nominis, *A. S. L.*; Christianismi olim nominis, *C.*—Act. Apost. XI. 26.

[4] *Ab Octobri usque ad Junium.*] The siege of Antioch commenced on the 21st October 1097, and ended 3rd June 1098.

[5] *Circumsedere.*] *S. C. D. E.*; circumdedere, *A. L.*

[6] *Expugnandi.*] *A. D. E. L.*; capiendi, *S. C.*

[7] *Castra.*] *C. E.*; excubias, *A. S. D. L.*

[8] *Imperatorem.*] *C. D. E.*; imperatorem Persidis, *A. S. L.*

qui, Francorum audaciam exponens, suppetias [1]expeteret. Soldanus apud Persas qui apud Romanos Augustus, totius orientis et omnium Saracenorum rector. Quod ideo, ut æstimo, tamdiu manet et propagatur imperium, quod gens illa parum (ut dixi) bellicosa, et vivacis sanguinis inops, semel acceptum nescit dediscere servitium, ignorantque, [2]ut Lucanus ait, Siege of Antioch.

'Ideo datos ne quisquam serviat enses.'

At vero gens occidentalis, audax et effera, diuturnam unius [3]populi dedignatur dominationem; sæpe se servitio exuens, et de uno in aliud transferens. Denique Romanum imperium prius ad Francos, post ad Teutones declinavit; orientale apud Persas semper durat.

QUARE TURCI CHRISTIANOS URBIS INDIGENAS OCCIDERINT.

§ 361. Ad hujus igitur imperii principem Sansadoles missus, viam studio celerabat juvenili; pater interim, in custodia urbis, imperatorio non deerat muneri. Nec contenta virtus inclusorum sua tutari, nostros ultro lacessebat; crebro illos, et subito, pabulantes et nundinantes aggressa; nam, de inventis navibus pontem facientes, nundinas ultra fluvium [4]constituerant. Ope igitur Christi pertinaces sumptis armis hostes audacter propellere, ut nunquam eos superiorem gloriam paterentur referre: cujus contumeliæ ultionem in Syros et Armenios, civitatis indigenas, Turci [5]refundebant; balistis et petrariis capita inter-

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[1] *Expeteret.*] *S. C. D. E.*; oraret, *A. L.*

[2] *Ut Lucanus ait.*] Pharsalia, IV. 579.

[3] *Populi.*] *S. D. E.*; gentis, *L.*

[4] *Constituerant.*] *D. E.*; instituerant, *A. S. C. L.*

[5] *Refundebant.*] *A. D. E. L.*; infundebant, *S. C.*

Siege of Antioch.

emtorum in castra Francorum emittentes, ut illos eo modo ad dolorem incenderent.

DE FAME OBSIDENTIUM.

§ 362. Et jam, devastatis omnibus circa urbem quæ ad victum poterant parari, temeraria fames, quæ tuta etiam expugnare solet, exercitum incessere cœperat; adeo ut, nondum surgentibus in altam segetem culmis, quidam siliquas fabarum [1]nondum adultarum pro summis deliciis amplecterentur. Alii carnes jumentorum, alii coria aquis mollita, quidam carduos parum coctos per abrasas fauces utero demittebant; quidam vel mures, vel talium quid deliciarum, poscentibus aliis venundabant, et esurire sustinebat prolato jejunus venditor auro. Nec defuere qui cadavera cadaveribus infarcirent, humanis pasti carnibus; longe tamen et in montibus, ne nidore carnis adustæ cæteri offenderentur. Plures, spe reperiendæ alimoniæ, ignotis vagabantur semitis; et a latrunculis, viarum gnaris, trucidabantur. Sed non multo post civitas deditioni consensit.

QUOMODO BOAMUNDUS TURCUM QUENDAM AD PRODITIONEM URBIS FLEXIT.

§ 363. Boamundus enim, solertis ingenii vir, ea parte qua prætendebat, [2]principem quendam Turcum, maximæ turris custodem, promissis ingentibus ad proditionem per internuncios solicitaverat. Ille quoque, ut infamiam proditionis insigni excusatione palliaret, Boamundo filium in obsidatum dedit; Christi edicto, quod per somnium didicisset, id se facere professus. Suos

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[1] *Nondum.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; omitted in *E.*

[2] *Principem quendam Turcum ... per internuncios solicitaverat.*] Phirouz, a Syrian renegado, has the infamy of this perfidious and foul treason.

igitur ad turrim Boamundus admovit, prius clandestino astu perpetuum a proceribus civitatis [1]donum nactus, si possit adquirere. Ita Franci, per funeas scalas nocte intempesta in murum evecti, vexilloque Boamundi, quod vermiculatum erat, ventis in fastigio turris exposito, signum Christianum lætis fragoribus ingeminant, 'Deus vult! Deus vult!' Turci experrecti, et soporis penuria inertes, fugam per angiportus invadunt: districtis nostri gladiis insecuti, magnas de inimicis strages acervant. In ea fuga [2]occidit Aoxianus urbis admiratus, a quodam rustico Syro decollatus: caput ejus, Francis allatum, ridiculo et gaudio fuit. Siege of Antioch.

DE ADVENTU TURCORUM.

§ 364. Nec diu opima victoria lætati, postero die Turcorum obsidionem extra muros ingemuere. Venerant illi a Sansadole invitati, [3]duce Corbaguath satrapa orientali, qui ab imperatore Persidis acceperat trecenta millia cum viginti septem admiratis. Horum [4]sexaginta in arcem urbis per scopulos ascendere, advocantibus eos Turcis qui adhuc ibidem remanserant. Itaque illi crebris excursibus Christianos potissimum fatigabant, nec erat ulla spes nisi in Dei auxilio;

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[1] *Donum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; dominum, *S.*

[2] *Occidit.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; cecidit, *S.*; occiditur, *L* 1.

[3] *Duce Corbaguath satrapa orientali . . . trecenta millia cum viginti septem admiratis.*] In describing the host of Kerboga, most of the Latin historians, the author of the Gesta (p. 17), Robertus Monachus (p. 56), Baldric (p. 111), Fulcherius Carnotensis (p. 392), Guibert (p. 512), William of Tyre (lib. VI. c. 3, p. 714), Bernardus Thesaurarius (c. 39, p. 695), are content with the vague expressions of 'infinita multitudo,' 'immensum agmen,' 'innumeræ copiæ,' 'innumeræ gentes.' The numbers of the Turks are fixed by Albertus Aquensis at two hundred thousand (lib. IV. c. 10, p. 242), and by Radulphus Cadomensis (c. 72, p. 309) at four hundred thousand horse. (Gibb. Decl. Rom. Emp. VII. pp. 364-5.)

[4] *Sexaginta.*] *D. E.*; sexaginta millia, *A. S. C. L.*

Siege of Antioch.

cum bello infestatis cresceret inedia, inedia semper [1]magnorum comes prima malorum. Quapropter, triduano prius cum letaniis exacto jejunio, legatus [2]Petrus heremita mittitur ad Turcos. Is familiari sibi eloquio ista prosecutus est, ut Turci Christianorum terras, quas olim pervaserant indebite, nunc evacuent voluntarie. Justum esse, ut sicut Christiani non [3]infestant Persidam, ita Turci non [4]urgeant Asiam. Proinde aut libenti discessu nativum solum repetant, aut mane futuro bellum expectent; sortem per duos vel quatuor vel octo experiantur, ne periculum ad totum vergat exercitum.

QUOMODO CHRISTIANI TURCOS VICERINT.

Battle of Antioch.

§ 365. Non erat Corbaguath ejus facilitatis ut legatum dignaretur responso; sed scacchis ludens, et dentibus infrendens, inanem dimisit: hoc tantum dicto, Jam conclamatam esse Francorum superbiam. Ille quoque concite rediens exercitum de insolentia Turci certiorem reddidit. Tunc omnes se alterutrum animantes, etiam per præconem clamare fecere, ut quisque nocte illa equo suo pro posse præbendam porrigeret, ne sequenti die multiformibus gyris fatigatus deficeret. Jamque mane inclaruerat, cum, per acies dispositi, vexillis in hostem infestis prodeunt. Primam turmam duxere duo Roberti, Normannus et Flandrensis, et Hugo magnus; secundam dux Godefridus; tertiam Podiensis

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[1] *Magnorum.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; omitted in *E.*

[2] *Petrus heremita . . . Is familiari sibi eloquio ista prosecutus est.*] William of Tyre (lib. I. c. 11, pp. 637-8) thus describes the hermit: 'Pusillus, persona contemptibilis, vivacis ingenii, et oculum habens perspicacem gratumque, et sponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium.'

[3] *Infestant.*] *C. D. E.*; urgent, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Urgeant.*] *C. D. E.*; infestent, *A. S. L.*

episcopus. Boamundus in extremo agmine [1]incedebat, cæteris subsidio futurus. Raimundus in urbe remanserat, qui nostris receptui provideret, si necesse foret. Hoc Turci eminus conspicati, primo quid esset hæsere. Mox cognito vexillo episcopi, quod eum maxime metuerent, quia illum papam Christianorum et incentorem bellorum [2]dictitarent, antequam ferirentur, videntes quod nostri tam animose et incunctanter procederent, terga dedere: alteri quoque, insperato exilientes tripudio, cedentes cecidere, quantum vel peditum ilia vel equitum calcaria sufficere potuerunt. Persuadebantque sibi videre se antiquos martyres, qui olim milites fuissent, quique mortis pretio parassent præmia vitæ, Georgium dico et Demetrium, vexillis levatis a partibus montanis accurrere, jacula in hostes, in se auxilium vibrantes. Nec diffitendum est affuisse martyres Christianis, sicut quondam angelos Macchabæis simili duntaxat causa pugnantibus. Reversi vero in prædam, tanta in castris illorum reperiunt quæ cujuslibet [3]avidissimi exercitus satietatem possent vel temperare vel extinguere. Hoc prælium actum est anno incar- A.D. 1098.
nationis Dominicæ millesimo nonagesimo octavo, June 28.
quarto kalendas Julii; nam pridie nonas [4]Julii July 6.
capta fuerat urbs. Mox, kalendis Augusti se- Aug. 1.
quentibus, Podiensis episcopus, Christianorum vexillifer, illius boni auctor præcipuus, communi mortalium conditioni feliciter manus dedit; et Hugo magnus, concessu ut aiunt heroum, Franciam rediit, causatus continuam viscerum tortionem.

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[1] *Incedebat.*] *A. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S. C.*

[2] *Dictitarent.*] *A. D. E. L.*; dicerent, *S. C.*

[3] *Avidissimi.*] *C. D. E.*; avarissimi, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Julii.*] *C.*; altered by a later hand from 'Julii' to 'Junii,' *E.*; Junii, *A. S. D. L.*

Approach to Jerusalem. A.D. 1099.

§ 366. Sed cum, [1]sex mensibus Antiochiæ morati, præteritos labores tam diuturna quiete abstersissent, iter jamdudum inceptum resumere meditabantur. Primusque Raimundus, nullius unquam ignaviæ conscius, et cui semper [2]cura primum in procinctu militari esse, et post eum Roberti et Godefridus, [3]iter adorti; solum Boamundum florentissimæ civitatis aspectus et pecuniarum fames continuit, ut interim differret. Sed latebat sub cupiditate ratio persuasibilis, qua diceret Antiochiam non sine principe Turcis exponendam continuo involaturis. Residit ergo in urbe; et Raimundi homines, qui vicum unum tenebant, improbus exactor mœnibus [4]depulit. At vero cæteri [5]per Tripolim, et Beritum, et Tyrum, et Sydonem, et Acaronem, et Caipham, et Cæsaream Palestinæ transeuntes, ibi a dextra dimittentes maritima, pervenerunt Ramulam; a quibusdam civitatibus gratanter excepti, quarundam subjectione virtutem suam insignientes. Non enim diutius moram protelari consilium erat, quod Aprilis mensis erat, et campestres fruges in maturas messes coaluerant. Ramula est civitatula, muro indiga, beati Georgii, si famæ credimus, martyrii conscia; cujus ibi ab antiquo fundatam ecclesiam Turci nonnihil deformaverant, tunc metu Francorum, subreptis omnibus suis, in montana dilapsi. Sequenti mane, dubio adhuc diei et noctis confinio, Tancredus nepos Boamundi, præstans animi miles, sumptis armis, et quidam alii, Bethleem perten-

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[1] *Sex.*] *A. C. E. L.*; septem, *S. D.*

[2] *Cura.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; curæ vita, *S.* (var. lect.)

[3] *Iter adorti.*] *D. E.*; viam moliti, *A. S. C. L.*

[4] *Depulit.*] *A. D. E. L.*; expulit, *S. C.*

[5] *Per Tripolim.*] The greatest part of their march is most accurately traced in Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem (pp. 11—67).

dunt, loca vicina explorare cupientes. Syri qui essent in loco, progressi obviam, lætitiam suam desiderio lachrymante prodebant, saluti eorum pro paucitate nimirum metuentes; nam non multo plus quam centum milites venerant. At [1]illi, supplicibus votis sacram ædem venerati, confestim Ierosolymam intentis animis invadunt. Turci quoque, pro fiducia virium mentibus efferati, foras exiliunt, in nostros aliquantisper arietantes; totus enim jam exercitus adventarat: sed mox, Francis annitentibus, summoti hostes claustrorum muralium objectu salutem suam tutabantur.

DE URBE IERUSALEM.

Jerusalem described.

§ 367. De situ et positione Ierusalem nihil me dicere copia scriptorum admonet: nec necesse est ut in hoc campo [2]nostra exultet oratio; adeo fere omnium notitiæ patet quod Josephus, quod Eucherius, quod Beda scripsere. Quis enim nesciat eam a Melchisedec Salem, a Jebuseis Jebus, a Salomone Ierosolymam vocatam? Quis non audierit quotiens, sub adverso marte cadens, cives ruinis sepelierit suis, vel Nabugodonosor, vel Tito, vel Adriano agentibus? Adrianus ille fuit qui Ierosolymam, ex suo cognomine cognominatam Heliam, orbiculato et majori murorum ambitu ædificavit, ut locum sepulchri Dominici, quod olim extra fuerat, amplecteretur; nam et mons Sion, intra urbem receptus, pro arce supereminet. [3]Fons intra nullus, sed cisternis ad hoc

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[1] *Illi, supplicibus ... venerati.*] The church of St. Mary at Bethlehem contained within its walls a sort of grotto, in which it was pretended Christ was born. (See Beda, De Locis Sanctis.)

[2] *Nostra.*] *A. D. E. L.*; mea, *S. C.*

[3] *Fons intra nullus ... Cedron augeat.*] Jerusalem was possessed only of the torrent of Kedron, dry in summer, and of the little

præparatis colliguntur latices siti civium profuturi; quod ipsius urbis situs, supercilio ab aquilone montis Sion incipiens, ita sit molli clivo dispositus, ut pluvia ibi decidens nequaquam lutum faciat, sed instar fluviorum vel cisternis excipiatur, vel per portas defluens torrentem Cedron augeat. Ibi templum Domini et templum quod dicunt Salomonis, quibus incertum auctoribus ædificata, Turcorum celebri frequentia colebantur; templum præsertim Domini, quod quotidianis venerabantur excubiis, Christianosque ingressu arcebant, simulachro Mahumet ibidem collocato. Ibi [1]decenti opere compacta ecclesia sancti sepulchri capax, a Constantino magno ædificata, nullam unquam ab inimicis fidei tulit injuriam; metu, sicut conjicio, pro igne cœlesti percussis, [2]qui quotannis in vigilia Paschæ lampadibus serenus infulget. Quod miraculum quando cœperit, vel si ante tempora [3]Saracenorum fuerit, nullius historiæ cognitione discernitur. [4]Legi ego in scripto Bernardi monachi, quod abhinc annis ducentis quinquaginta, id est,

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brook or spring of Siloe. (Reland, tom. I. pp. 294, 300.) Tacitus mentions a perennial fountain, an aqueduct, and cisterns of rain-water. The aqueduct was conveyed from the rivulet Tekoe, or Etham, which is likewise mentioned by Bohadin (in Vit. Saladin. p. 238).

[1] *Decenti.*] *S. C. E.*; tereti, *A. D. L.*

[2] *Qui quotannis in vigilia Paschæ lampadibus serenus infulget.*] It was pretended that the lamps in the church of the Holy Sepulchre were miraculously ignited on Easter-eve. Mosheim, in his Dissertations on Ecclesiastical History (tom. II. pp. 214—306), has separately discussed this pretended miracle. He ascribes the invention of the pious fraud to the Franks soon after the decease of Charlemagne.

[3] *Saracenorum.*] *S. D. E.*; paganorum, *L.*

[4] *Legi ego in scripto Bernardi monachi.*] ' Bernard, with two companions, sailed from Italy to Alexandria, and travelled thence by land to Jerusalem in the year 870. Their travels are printed in Mabillon's Acta Benedictinorum. The account is short, but has several interesting particulars. There is also a good MS. in the British Museum, (Bibl. Cott. Faust. B. I.) where, by a mistake of the scribe, it is dated A.D. 970; but this is clearly

anno incarnationis octingentesimo septuagesimo, idem, Ierosolymam profectus, ignem illum viderit; hospitatusque fuerit in xenodochio quod [1]ibidem gloriosissimus Karolus magnus construi jusserat, ubi et bibliotecam ingentis expensæ compegerat. Tantamque et Ægypti, et per id locorum, commemorat pacem Christianos sub Turcorum dominio habuisse, ut si alicui vianti in mediis forte triviis jumentum quo necessaria veheret defungeretur, ille, relictis [2]sarculis, ad proximam urbem expeditus pro auxilio pergeret, omnia quæ dimiserat illibata proculdubio reperturus. Nullus tamen ibi Christianus alienigena secure vivere, pro exploratorum suspicione, poterat, nisi sigillo imperatoris Babylonii fretus: indigenæ pacem Turcorum tribus annuis talentis vel bizantinis redimebant. Veruntamen quia Bernardus Theodosii tunc patriarchæ nomen non tacet, ipsa me monet occasio ut omnium patriarcharum nomina proponam.

NOMINA PATRIARCHARUM IERUSALEM.

§ 368. Jacobus frater Domini, filius [3]Alphei; Simeon filius Cleophæ, consobrinus Christi (Cleophas autem fuit frater Joseph); Justus, Zacheus, Tobias, Benjamin, Johannes, Machabeus, Philippus, Seneca, Justus, Levi, Effrem, [4]Justus, Judas (hi quindecim circumcisi fuerunt); Marcus, Cassianus, [5]Publius, Maximus, [6]Julianus, Gaius (iste primus celebravit Pascha et Quadragesimam more Romanorum); Symacus, Gaius, Patriarchs of Jerusalem.

wrong, for Bernard mentions Lewis king of Italy as then living, and he died A.D. 875.' (Sharpe, 438.)

[1] *Ibidem.*] *A. D. E. L.*; idem, *S. C.*

[2] *Sarculis.*] *E.*; sarcinis, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[3] *Alphei.*] *C. D. E.*; Joseph, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Justus.*] *C. D. E.*; Jesse, *A. S. L.*

[5] *Publius.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; Publicus, *D.*

[6] *Julianus.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; omitted in *C.*

Julianus, Capito, Maximus, Antonius, Valens, Docilianus, Narcissus, Dius, Germanio, Gordius, Alexander, Mazabanus, Irmeneus, Zabdas, Ermon, Macharius (hujus temporibus inventa est sancta crux [1]ab Helena); Ciriacus, Maximus, Cirillus (iste construxit ecclesiam sancti Sepulchri et montis Calvariæ, et Bethleem et vallis Josaphat). Hi omnes vocati sunt episcopi. Post hos surrexere patriarchæ: Cirillus, protus patriarcha; Johannes, [2]Prailius, Juvenalis, [3]Johannes, Zacharias (in cujus tempore venit [4]Chosdroe rex Persarum Ierusalem, et destruxit ecclesias Judeæ et Ierusalem, et occisa sunt ab exercitu suo triginta sex millia Christianorum); Modestus (iste constitutus est patriarcha ab Heraclio imperatore postquam reversus est victor de Perside); Sofronius (cujus temporibus venere Saraceni, et ejecerunt Christianos omnes de Ierusalem, excepto patriarcha, quem ob reverentiam sanctitatis ibi dimiserunt. Illud fuit tempus quo Saraceni totam Ægyptum, et Affricam, et Judæam, et Hispaniam, et Baleares insulas pervaserunt. Partem Hispaniæ abstulit iis Karolus magnus; [5]reliquas et omnes quas nominavi terras possident usque hodie, annis abhinc circiter quingentis); [6]Theodorus, Ilia, Georgius, Thomas, [7]Basilidis, Sergius, Salomontos, Theo-

A.D. 614.

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[1] *Ab Helena.*] *C. D. E.*; a beata Helena, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Prailius.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; Julius, *D.*

[3] *Johannes.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 1.; omitted in *S. L* 2.—No patriarch of this name is known at this period. Anastasius succeeded Juvenal A.D. 458. The names of the eleven successive patriarchs prior to Zacharias (A.D. 458—609) are omitted by Malmesbury.

[4] *Chosdroe.*] *D. E.*; Cosdroe, *A. C. L.*; Cosrel, *S.*—Chosroes II. king of Persia.

[5] *Reliquas.*] *D. E.*; reliquam, *A. S. C. L.*

[6] *Theodorus.*] The church of Jerusalem was vacant after the death of Sophronius (A.D. 644) until the year 705, when John V. succeeded, whom Theodorus followed, A.D. 754.

[7] *Basilidis.*] *D. E.*; Basilius, *A. S. C. L.*

dosius: hunc Theodosium fuisse abbatem Bernardus memorat, et raptum de monasterio suo, quod distabat ab Ierusalem quindecim millibus, et factum fuisse patriarcham Ierosolymæ; tunc [1]Michaelem [2]dicit fuisse patriarcham Babylonis super Ægyptum, translato patriarchatu Alexandriæ in Babylonem: Ilia, Sergius, Leonthos, Athanasius, Christodolus, Thomas, Joseph, Orestes (in cujus tempore venit Achim Soldanus de A.D. 1009. Babylonia, nepos Orestis patriarchæ, misit exercitum suum Ierusalem, et destruxit omnes ecclesias, scilicet quatuor millia; et avunculum suum patriarcham adduci fecit Babyloniam et ibidem occidi); Theofilus, Niceforus (hic ædificavit [3]ecclesiam sancti Sepulchri quæ nunc est, favente A.D. 1048. Achim Soldano); Sofronius (in cujus tempore Turci Ierosolymam venientes, pugnaverunt cum A.D. 1059. Saracenis et omnes interfecerunt, et obtinuerunt civitatem; Christiani autem remanserunt ibi sub dominio Turcorum); [4]Euthimius, Simeon: hujus tempore venerunt Franci et expugnaverunt Iero- A.D. 1099. solymam, et liberaverunt eam de manibus Turcorum et regis Babyloniæ.

§ 369. Anno igitur Ierosolymitanæ peregrina- Siege of Jerusalem. tionis quarto, post captam Niceam tertio, post A.D. 1099. Antiochiam secundo, obsessa est a Francis Ierusalem; urbs bellorum maxima merces, blandimentum laborum, supremæ spei viaticum. Erat tunc Junii mensis dies septimus; nec quicquam June 7. sibi obsessor verebatur in cibatù vel in potu, quod messis in agris, uvæ in vineis, maturaverant: sola jumentorum cura erat [5]miserabilis,

[1] *Michaelem.*] *D. E.*; etiam patriarcham Michaelem, *S.*; etiam Michaelem, *A. C. L.*

[2] *Dicit.*] *A. D. E.*; dicunt, *S. C.*; diem, *L.*

[3] *Ecclesiam.*] *D. E.*; casam, *A. S. C. L.*

[4] *Euthimius.*] *A. C. E. L.*; Eubinnus, *D.*; Cuthimus, *S.*

[5] *Miserabilis.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; miseris, *S.* (var. lect.)

Siege of Jerusalem.

quæ pro qualitate loci et temporis nullo sustentabantur irriguo; nam et fontis Siloe recessus, qui horis incertis dulcibus scatet aquis, tunc calor solis ebiberat. Fons ille, si quando pluvialibus pascitur aquis, torrentem Cedron auget, indeque undivomo impetu in vallem Josaphat decurrit; sed hoc admodum raro, quia nullus ejus augmenti vel decrementi [1]serius est terminus: quocirca nostros, ad aquationem jumentorum crebro dispersos, hostes e cavernis egredientes inopine cædebant. Interea duces suo quisque muneri; Raimundus vero [2]turri Davidicæ impiger assidebat. Hæc, ab occasu solis urbem muniens, ad medium fere tabulatum quadratorum lapidum plumbo infuso compaginata, omnem metum obsidentium paucis intus defendentibus repellit. Itaque videntes urbem ad capiendum, propter prærupta montium et firmitatem mœnium et ferocitatem hostium, difficilem, machinas fieri præcepere: et prius quidem, [3]obsessionis die septimo, fortunam scalis erectis tentarunt, in resistentes volaticas moliti sagittas; sed quia erant scalæ paucæ, ascendentibus damnosæ, quod vulneribus expositi undique nulla parte protegerentur, consilium mutarunt. Unum fuit machinamentum quod nostri Suem, veteres Vineam vocant; quod machina levibus lignis colligata, tecto tabulis cratibusque contexto, lateribus crudis coriis [4]munitis, protegit in se [5]subsidentes, qui, quasi more suis, ad murorum suffodienda pene-

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[1] *Serius.*] *A. C. E. L.*; certus, *S. D.*

[2] *Turri Davidicæ.*] The Tower of David was the old tower Psephina, or Neblosa; it was likewise called Castellum Pisanum, from the patriarch Daimbert. (D'Anville, pp. 19—23.)

[3] *Obsessionis.*] *S. D. E.*; obsidionis, *L.*

[4] *Munitis.*] *A. D. E. L.*; communitis, *S. C.*

[5] *Subsidentes.*] *S. C. D. E.*; subsistentes, *A. L.*

trant fundamenta. Alterum fuit, pro lignorum penuria, turris non magna, in modum ædificiorum facta: Berfreid appellant, quod fastigium murorum æquaret. Hoc machinamentum, dum fieret, moram obsidioni dedit pro fabrorum inscitia et lignorum [1]inopia. Et jam quartusdecimus dies Julii volvebatur, cum hi admotis vineis murum soffodere, hi turrem promovere cœpere: quod ut opportunius fieret, membratim disjunctam ad muros tulere; ibique, prope quantum a jactu sagittæ cavere poterant, compaginatam, rotarum volubilitate muro pene conjunxere. Interea funditores lapidibus, sagittarii jaculis, arcubalistæ telis, quisque suum [2]exercentes officium, instare, et propugnantes de muro submovere; milites quoque virtute incomparabiles turrim ascendere, æquo jam pene marte telis et lapidibus in hostes agentes. Nec illi feriis vacabant, sed, omnem virtuti salutem committentes, adipem et oleum ignitum in turrim et in milites fundibalis jaculabantur, multorum mortibus sui voti se compotes gloriantes. Ita toto illo die certatum, ut neutra pars se victam putaret. Sequenti die, qui erat quintusdecimus Julii, ad suprema ventum: namque Franci, pridiani certaminis eventu eruditiores, fasces oleagino succo vividas in turrim muro proximam et ejus custodes jecerunt. At flamma, vento agente in comas erecta, primo ligna, [3]mox lapides corripiens, custodes effugavit. Quin et tigna quæ Turci e muro pendula dimiserant, ut turrim, si propius admoveretur, reducto nisu brachiorum arietando effringerent, Franci funibus desectis ad se traxere; et de machina in murum jactis, cratibusque

Siege of Jerusalem.

July 14.

July 15.

[1] *Inopia.*] *C. D. E.*; penuria, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Exercentes.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; exercens, *S.* (var. lect.)

[3] *Mox.*] *A. D. E. L.*; postea, *S. C.*

constratis, pontem, qui turrim et mœnia continuaret, fecere. Ita perfidis versum in exitium quod paraverant ad remedium. Tum vero, et fumeis flammarum globis, et nostrorum audacia, hostes infracti fugam ineunt. [1]Alteri in murum, et inde in urbem progredientes, quantum illa exigebat animorum lætitia, manibus egere. Et hæc quidem victoria in parte Godefridi et duorum Robertorum evenit. Ignorabat hoc Raimundus donec fugitivorum clamor, et se de muro ultro præcipitantium timor, (qui, dum mortem fugiunt, mortem invadunt,) urbem captam prodidit. Quod intuitus, strictisque gladiis in [2]fugitivos irruens, quantum animositati suæ sufficere judicavit, injurias Dei ultum ire festinabat. Quingentos quoque Æthiopas, qui, in arcem David refugi, claves portarum, pollicita membrorum impunitate, tradiderant, spectato pacis commodo præsentis, incolumes Ascalonem dimisit. Nec ullum erat Turcis refugium, ita et supplices et rebelles insatiabilis ira victorum consumebat. Decem millia in templo Salomonis interfecta; plura ex fastigiis templorum et arcis præcipitata. Post hæc cadavera cumulata, igne immisso, in aerium resoluta sunt elementum, ne, sub divo in tabem fluentia, inerti attraherent contagia mundo. Ita cæde infidelium expiata urbe, sepulchrum Domini, quod tamdiu desideraverant, pro quo tot labores tulerant, supplicibus cordibus et corporibus expetierunt. Quot ibi precum thurificatione cœlum incenderint, quot lacrymis Deum in gratiam revocaverint, nullus unquam profiteor evolveret: nec si veterum pompatica eloquentia procederet; non si Orpheus,

Capture of Jerusalem.

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[1] *Alteri.*] *A. D. E. L.*; alii, *S. C.*

[2] *Fugitivos.*] *C. D. E.*; fugientes, *A. S. L.*

qui vocalibus fidibus auritos, ut dicitur, scopulos flexit, resurgeret. Cogitetur igitur potius quam dicatur.

Forbearance of the Crusaders.

§ 370. Illud insigne continentiæ in omnibus optimatibus exemplum fuit, quod nec eo die, nec consequentibus, quisquam respectu prædæ avocavit animum quin cœptum persequerentur triumphum. Solus Tancredus, intempestiva cupidine occupatus, quædam pretiosissima de templo Salomonis extulit; sed postmodum, sua conscientia et aliorum conventus colloquio, vel eadem vel appreciata loco restituit. Tum quicunque egenus vel domum vel aliquas divitias invasit; nunquam ulterius ullius locupletis tulit convitium, sed semel possessa in jus adoptavit hæreditarium. Nec mora, prælucidum illud Christianæ nobilitatis specular, in quo velut in splendido lacunari omnium virtutum repercutiebatur jubar, [1]Godefridus, in regem eligitur, omnibus non ignava spe conferentibus, nullo modo posse decentius prospici ecclesiæ utilitatibus; [2]dilato interim de patriarcha consilio, qui Romani papæ deberet substitui judicio.

Godfrey chosen king.

The battle of Ascalon A.D. 1099, Aug. 12.

§ 371. At vero Babylonis imperator, non illius quæ, a Nembroth facta, a Semiramide aucta [3]esse asseritur; sed illius quam Cambyses Cyri filius ædificavit in Ægypto, in loco ubi quondam fuerat Thaphnis, — imperator ergo Babylonis,

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[1] *Godefridus in regem eligitur.*] This devout pilgrim rejected the name and ensigns of royalty in a city where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns: he contented himself with the modest title of 'Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre.'

[2] *Dilato interim de patriarcha consilio, qui Romani papæ deberet substitui judicio.*] Pope Urban did not live to hear of the memorable event; he died 29th of July 1099, fourteen days after the conquest of Jerusalem. Daimbert archbishop of Pisa was installed, without a competitor, patriarch of Jerusalem. (See William of Tyre, lib. IX. c. 15—18, and lib. X. 4, 7, 9.)

[3] *Esse asseritur.*] *D. E.*; nunc asseritur deserta, *A. S. C. L.*

Battle of Ascalon.

diu conceptas in Francos iras parturiens, misit ducem militiæ qui eos de regno, ut dictitabat, suo [1]propelleret. Ille, præcepta maturans munia, cum audisset captam Ierusalem, majori cura stimulavit negotium, quanquam ante nihil segnitiei admisisset. Eratque barbaro animus ut Christianos in Ierusalem obsideret; et, post victoriam quam jam mente somniabat falso præsagus, sepulchrum Domini a fundo erutum dilapidaret. Nostri, qui nihil minus diligerent quam obsidiales ærumnas denuo [2]perpeti, sumpta ex Dei parte audacia, ex urbe versus Ascalonem prodeunt, obvia hostibus inferentes pectora; portabantque secum partem Dominici ligni, quam quidam Syrus civis Ierosolymitanus avita successione domi custoditam propalaverat. Felix plane et fidele furtum, ut toto tempore Turcis celaretur mysterium! Ingentem ergo prædam pecorum et pecudum [3]secus Ascalonem nacti, generale proposuerunt edictum ut omnia in patulis campis relinquerent, ne postero mane pugnaturis impedimento forent: satis superque se prædam habituros si vincerent, dummodo expediti divinas ulciscerentur injurias. Itaque mane jam exercitu [4]prodeunte, videres, supero credo instinctu, cornibus erectis pecora lateribus militum obambulantia, nec ulla posse abigi violentia: quod eminus hostes intuiti, et solaribus radiis visus hebetati, animis ante prælium conciderunt, quod crederent innumeram esse adversariorum manum; quamvis ipsis non deesset militaris copia multo exercitio ad prælium præparata. Lentius itaque procedentes, Francos, bi-

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[1] *Propelleret.*] *S. D. E.*; perturbaret, *L.*

[2] *Perpeti.*] *S. C. D. E.*; experiri, *A. L.*

[3] *Secus.*] *C. D. E.*; juxta, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Prodeunte.*] *S. C. D. E.*; procedente, *A. L.*

partito agmine et sinuatis alis, includere conati sunt; sed duces, et maxime Robertus Normannus, qui antesignanus erat, arte artem, vel potius virtute calliditatem eludentes, sagittariis et peditibus deductis, medias gentilium perruperunt acies. Eques quoque Lotharingus, qui in extremo agmine cum domino suo erat, a lateribus involitans, libertatem fugæ et campos abstulit omnes. [1] Ita Turci, ab anterioribus penetrati et ab exterioribus inclusi, ad [2] voluntatem victorum cæsi sunt; reliqui, noctis quæ imminebat beneficio, liberati. Multum aureæ supellectilis in eorum castris inventum; multum gemmarum, quarum raritas in nostris regionibus incognita, ibi nativo decore refulgurat: nec ulla victoria lætior fuit Christianis, quod incruenti opima retulere spolia. Battle of Ascalon.

§ 372. Ierusalem itaque reversi, cum stativa multorum dierum requie vires reformassent, quidam, suspirantes in natalis soli desiderium, marinum adornarunt reditum. Soli Godefridus et Tancredus remanserunt; prædicabiles profecto principes, et quorum titulis nullas unquam affiget metas postera, si rectum judicet, ætas: viri, qui ab extremo Europæ frigore in importabiles se Orientis calores immerserunt, vitæ suæ prodigi dummodo Christianitati laboranti [3] concurrerent; qui, præter metum barbaricorum incursuum, semper pro incommoditate [4] ignoti poli suspecti, securitatem quietis et sanitatis in patria contempserint, et, pauculi numero, tot inimicorum urbes fama et effectu virtutum presserint; memorabili fiduciæ Dei exemplo, ut illic non du- Crusaders return home.

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[1] *Ita Turci ... cæsi sunt.*] *S. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *A.*

[2] *Voluntatem.*] *S. C. D. E.*; satietatem, *L.*

[3] *Concurrerent.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; succurrerent, *S.*

[4] *Ignoti poli.*] *C. D. E.*; igniti poli, *A. L.*; ignoti populi, *S.*

bitarent subsistere, ubi vel pestifero afflarentur aere vel Saracenica occiderentur rabie. Cedant ergo poetarum præconia; nec priscos heroas vetus attollat fabula. Nihil unquam horum laudi comparabile ulla genuere secula: nam, et si qua illorum fuit virtus, in sepulchrales favillas post mortem evanuit; quod potius in mundialis pompæ fumum, quam in ullius boni solidum, effusa fuerit. Istorum autem fortitudinis sentietur utilitas, et ostendetur dignitas, quamdiu orbis volubilitas et sancta vigebit Christianitas. Quid vero de disciplina et abstinentia totius exercitus dicam? Nulla ibi ventris ingluvies, nulla fuit penis illuvies, quæ non continuo vel ducum [1]auctoritate vel episcoporum sermone corrigeretur. Nulla prædandi per terras Christianorum cupido; nulla inter se controversia quæ non facile, mediatorum judicum cognitione, recideretur. Quapropter, quia tam ordinati exercitus laus ad prælatorum redundat gloriam, singulorum procerum facta et exitus scripto insigniam; nec quicquam veritati secundum relatorum meorum credulitatem subtraham. Nullus vero, cui amplior provenit gestorum notitia, me pro incurioso arguat; quia trans oceanum Britannicum abditos vix tenui murmure rerum Asianarum fama illustrat.

DE GODEFRIDO.

Account of Godfrey of Bouillon.

§ 373. Initium ergo laudum rex Godefridus [2]occupat, qui Eustachii comitis Bononiensis, de quo tempore regis Edwardi dixi, filius, materno excellentior genere, ad Karoli magni spectabat lineam. Siquidem mater, Ida nomine, Godefridi antiqui Lotharingorum ducis filia, habuit fra-

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[1] *Auctoritate.*] *S. D. E.*; austeritate, *L.*

[2] *Occupat.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

trem, a genitoris nomine Godefridum dictum, cognomento Bocardum. Illud fuit tempus quando Robertus Friso (de quo superius locutus sum), mortuo Florentio Frisiæ duce, uxorem ejus Gertrudem duxit; privignum Theodoricum in successionem ducatus provehens. Non tulit hoc Bocardus, sed, Frisonem expellens, regionem suis [1]voluntatibus addixit: ultus se ille insidiis, qui non posset præliis, per Flandritas suos sedentem ad [2]requisita naturæ extinxit, ferro per verenda immisso. Ita privignus beneficio victrici successit ducatui. Uxor hujus Godefridi fuit Matildis Marcisa, quam superior liber prædicat: quæ, mortuo marito, ducatum impigre contra imperatorem retentavit, maxime intra Italiam; nam Lotharingiam et inferiores terras imperator obtinuit. Ida [3]vero, ut dicere cœperam, magnis spebus ad comitatum [4]Lotharingorum petendum filium Godefridum erexit: namque seniori filio Eustachio hæreditas paterna obtigerat; minor, Baldewinus, pueriles adhuc annos terebat. Godefridus, habilem ad arma ætatem nactus, imperatori Henrico (de quo proximus liber loquitur) militiam suam consecravit. Ingentibus ergo sudoribus ejus in se transferens amicitiam, egregia liberalitate Cæsaris totam pro stipendio accepit Lotharingiam. Unde factum est, ut, orta inter papam et Henricum simultate, cum eo ad oppugnandam Romam profectus, eam partem [5]muri quæ vigiliis suis observabatur primus prorumperet, magnam fenestram irrupturis aperiens. Ita potissimum sudans, et præfervidis venis suspiriosus, cellarium

Godfrey of Bouillon.

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[1] *Voluntatibus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; voluptatibus, *S.*

[2] *Requisita naturæ.*] *D. E.*; secreta naturæ, *S. C.*; necessaria, *A. L.*

[3] *Vero.*] *D. E* 1.; ergo, *A. S. C. E* 2. *L.*

[4] *Lotharingorum.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L*; omitted in *E* 1.

[5] *Muri.*] *A. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S. C.*

Godfrey of Bouillon.

subterraneum, quod forte se [1]discursanti obtulerat, ingressus est: ibi, cum nimio vini haustu intemperantiam sitis placasset, febrim quartanam iniit. Dicunt alii venenato Falerno infectum; quod soleant Romani, et illius terræ homines, totis infundere toxica tonnis. Alii, ei partem illam mœnium sorte obtigisse ubi Tiberis influens mane sævas exhalat nebulas, quarum pernicie omnes milites ejus præter decem interiise; ipsum, amissis crinibus et unguibus, dubie convaluisse. Veruntamen, quodlibet horum fuerit, constat eum nunquam continuæ sed lentæ febris incommodo vacasse; donec, audita fama viæ Ierosolymitanæ, illuc se iturum vovit si Deus propitius ei [2]salutem largiretur: quo voto emisso, ita ducis vires refloruisse, ut nodosos integer artus, et spatioso erectus pectore, quasi squalentibus annis exutus, recenti emicaret juventa. Quare, divinis beneficiis in se confluentibus responsurus, Ierosolymam ivit vel primus vel cum primis, magnas in bellum trahens catervas; et quamvis durum et exercitatum militem haberet, nullus tamen eo vel prior in congressu, vel promptior in effectu, habebatur. Denique notum est, quod Turcum, in Antiochena obsidione pugnam singularem poscentem, medium a lateribus gladio Lotharingo dissecuerit; et jam palpitabat arvis medietas hominis, cum alteram cornipes volucri cursu asportavit, adeo firme nebulo insederat. Alterum, [3]æque congressum, librata in caput spatha a vertice ad inguina diffiderit; [4]nec adhuc ictus horrendus steterit, sed sellam et spinam equi penitus disciderit. Audivi veracem hominem referentem vidisse se

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[1] *Discursanti.*] *S. D. E.*; discurrenti, *L.*

[2] *Salutem.*] *S. D. E.*; sanitatem, *L.*

[3] *Æque.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; equo, *S.*

[4] *Nec adhuc . . . disciderit.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

quod subjiciam: In ipsa obsidione militem ducis pabulari progressum, et a leone invasum, objectu clypei mortem aliquandiu [1]distulisse; indoluisse Godefridum viso, et venabulo feram transfodisse: illam sauciam, et dolore acrius sævientem, in principem irruisse, adeo ut ferro quod extabat e vulnere tibiam ejus [2]læderet; et, nisi properasset gladio belluam eviscerare, illud virtutis specimen potuisset dente ferino interire. His successibus clarus, in regem Ierosolymæ levatur; propterea quod esset genere et virtute conspicuus, nec tamen superbus. Parvum admodum et finibus angustum fuit regnum, quod, præter paucas in circuitu villas, nullas [3]pene urbes haberet: nam et infesta regis valetudo, quam statim post bellum Babylonicum incurrerat, ferias bellis dedit, ut nihil acquireretur; et divina solertia barbaricas aviditates toto illo anno probe compescuit, ut nihil amitteretur. Fama est regem otii desuetudine febrim antiquam nactam fuisse; sed ego conjicio Deum placitam sibi animam, et tot laboribus emeritam, in melius regnum transferre voluisse mature, ne malitia mutaret animam [4]ejus, aut fictio deciperet intellectum illius. Igitur, rota temporis referente annuum regni spatium, placida morte resolutus, et sub [5]Golgothana rupe tumulatus est. Rex invicti sicut in ferrum sic in mortem animi, qui lachrymas astantium sæpe benignus coercuerit; interrogatusque de successore, neminem nominatim, [6]sed eum qui dignus

Godfrey of Bouillon.

Death of Godfrey. July 18, A.D. 1100.

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[1] *Distulisse.*] *S. D. E.*; propulsasse, *L.*

[2] *Læderet.*] *S. D. E.*; sauciaret, *L.*

[3] *Pene.*] *A. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S. C.*

[4] *Ejus.*] *C. D. E.*; ipsius, *A. S. L.*

[5] *Golgothana rupe.*] The church of Golgotha contained within it the rock on which the cross was fixed for the crucifixion. (Beda, De Locis Sanctis, p. 315.)

[6] *Sed eum.*] *C. D. E.*; sed tantummodo eum, *A. S. L.*

foret, pronunciaverit: nec unquam regium insigne ferre sustinuerit, professus [1]unicam esse arrogantiam si coronaretur ipse ad gloriam in ea urbe qua Deus coronatus fuerat ad contumeliam. [2]Obiit quintodecimo kalendas Augusti.

DE BALDEWINO.

Account of Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

§ 374. Eo defuncto, Tancredus et alii proceres Baldewinum, fratrem ejus, futurum regem pronunciant, qui tum in Mesopotamia morabatur; nam Eustachius senior, qui cum Godefrido Ierosolymam venerat, jamdudum hæreditarium solum repetierat. Baldewini actus integra et brevi veritate apponentur, fidei soliditate accommodata dictis [3]Fulcherii Carnotensis; qui, capellanus ipsius, aliquanta de ipso scripsit, stylo non quidem agresti, sed, ut dici solet, sine nitore ac palæstra, et qui alios admonere potuit ut accuratius scriberent. Baldewinus igitur, iter sanctum cum cæteris adorsus, multos milites habuit indolis suæ complices; quibus fretus, novos sibi exercitus ipse moliri, splendidas occasiones aucupari, quibus virtus enitescere posset. Denique, non contentus communi omnium laude, trium dierum ab Antiochia spatio a reliquis discedens, Tarsum, Ciliciæ urbem nobilem, voluntate civium [4]suscepit; Tarsum, Pauli quondam apostoli alumnam, in cujus honore ibi ecclesia episcopatus cernitur. Voluntarie Tarsenses se ejus clientelæ subdidere, quod essent Christiani, et ipsius patrocinio se

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[1] *Unicam.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; nimiam, *S.*

[2] *Obiit quintodecimo kalendas Augusti.*] *A. S. E. L.*; omitted in *C. D.*

[3] *Fulcherii Carnotensis.*] Fulcher's narrative (Historia Hierosolymitana ab an. 1095, ad an. usque 1127,) is printed in the Gesta Dei per Francos; and in Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Scriptor. tom. IV. p. 816. Malmesbury appears to have derived much of his information from this source.

[4] *Suscepit.*] *C. D. E.*; recepit, *A. S. L.*

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

sperarent a Turcis protegi. Certatim itaque Cilices in ejus jus transiere; maxime post Turbexel [1]deditum, quod est oppidum natura [2]munitum, cujus nutum inferiora spectarent castella: quo, ut dixi, dedito, cætera ejus judicium secuta. Nec solum Cilicia, sed et Armenia et Mesopotamia familiaritatem [3]ejus appetivere: erant enim hæ terræ pene Turcorum dominio liberæ, sed inequitationibus infestatæ. Quare dux Edessæ urbis, qui et civium odio et hostium gladio premeretur, literas necessitatis suæ interpretes Baldewino misit: veniret ergo quantocius, adoptionis præmio laborem veniendi consolaturus, namque ipse sexus utriusque prole carebat. Ea est urbs in Mesopotamia Syriæ ubere glebæ redditu et negotiatorum mercimoniis nominatissima, distans ab Euphrate viginti milliariis, ab Antiochia centum: Edessam Græci, Syri Rotasiam dicunt. Ita Baldewinus, exacto a legatis fidelitatis sacramento, cum [4]octoginta solum militibus Euphratem transfretavit; spectaculo mirando, seu dicere velis fortitudinis, seu temeritatis, ut inter circumfusas barbarorum nationes, quas alter haberet vel pro gente vel pro incredulitate suspectas, cum tantillo exercitu non hæsitaret procedere. Et ab Armeniis quidem et Syris [5]grato excipiebatur gaudio, et indulgenti fovebatur hospitio, cum crucibus et candelabris per tramites occurrentibus. Turci autem, posterius agmen tentare aggressi, solertia Baldewini omnibus frustrati sunt insidiis; Samosathenis exemplum fugæ facientibus. Samosatha est civitas ultra Euphra-

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[1] *Deditum.*] *D. E.*; flexum, *A. S. C. L.*

[2] *Munitum.*] *A. D. E. L.*; invictum, *S. C.*

[3] *Ejus.*] *D. E.*; viri, *S. L.*

[4] *Octoginta.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; sexaginta novem, *S.*

[5] *Grato.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; gratato, *E* 1.

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

ten, de qua [1]fuit [2]Paulus Samosathenus, cujus hæresim confutatam [3]in historia Eusebii leget qui volet: hanc etiam, si bene occurrit memoriæ, dicit Josephus obsedisse Antonium quando ad eum Herodes venit. Hujus igitur urbis incolæ Turci, qui primi fuissent in Francos audaciæ incentivum, primi defectionis dedere auspicium. Itaque Baldewinus, tuto Edessam perveniens, [4]nihil inferius quam sperabat invenit; nam et [5]invitatoris profuso favore susceptus, et non post multum tempus, illo a perfidis civibus dilaniato, legitimum urbis ducatum adeptus, toto tempore quo Franci apud Antiochiam et Ierosolymam laboraverunt non immunis bellorum fuit, frequentibus assultibus hostes contristans suos. At vero Novembri mense admonitus a Boamundo principe Antiochiæ ut iter Ierosolymæ jam tandem experirentur, profectionem composuit; propulsatisque solo candidi vexilli visu (quod insigne in prælio habebat) Turcis, qui sperato ejus discessu pacem læserant, a dextra relinquens Antiochiam, venit Laodiciam. Ibi liberalitate Raimundi comitis, qui ei civitati principabatur, tenui pretio sufficientiam stipis mercatus, Gibello transito recentibus vestigiis Boamundum insecutus est, qui eum fixis tentoriis operiebatur. Junxit se cum eis communione viæ Daibertus Pisanus ar-

He marches to Jerusalem.

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[1] *Fuit.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Paulus Samosathenus.*] Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, A.D. 260. He was better pleased with the title of Ducenarius than with that of Bishop. His heresy, like those of Noetus and Sabellius in the same century, tended to confound the mysterious distinction of the divine persons. He was degraded from his see in 270 by the sentence of eighty bishops, and altogether deprived of his office in 274 by Aurelian. (Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. I. p. 702, &c.)

[3] *In historia Eusebii.*] Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. VII. c. 30.

[4] *Nihil inferius quam sperabat invenit.*] *S. D. E.*; nihil minus promissis desideravit, *L.*

[5] *Invitatoris.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; invitatoriis, *S.*

chiepiscopus, qui navigio multis sibi sociatis civibus Laodiciam applicuerat; et præterea duo alii episcopi. Ita junctis agminibus computabantur, æstimatione librata, esse viginti quinque millia: quorum multi, terras Saracenorum ingressi, pro charitate mercimonii fame conclusi; multi ex equitibus in pedites mutati, equis inedia interceptis. Accedebat miseriis imbrium affluentia, quod in illis terris quasi præcipiti torrente pluvia hybernis duntaxat mensibus inundet; itaque [1]pauperes, carentes mutatoriis, algido rigore moriebantur, quampluribus diebus nulli tecto succedentes. Et hujus quidem calamitatis nullum erat remedium, quod et tentoria et ligna deficerent. At vero famem nonnihil levabant, arundines mellitas continue dentibus terentes, quas [2]cannamellas, nomine composito ex canna et melle, vocant. Sic [3]bis omnino a Tripolitanis et Cæsariensibus [4]immenso ære necessaria nacti, Ierosolymam venere solstitii brumalis die. Occurrit illis ad portas rex Godefridus cum fratre Eustachio, quem ad hoc tempus detinuerat, nihil liberalitatis et [5]gratiæ in eorum omittens obsequio. Illi, peractis in Bethleem ex more Dominicæ Nativitatis solennibus, Daibertum patriarcham constituere. [6]In quo facto Urbani papæ consensum obligatum non ambigo; quod esset is et reverendus senio, et potens eloquio, et pollens marsupio.

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

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[1] *Pauperes.*] *S. D. E.*; pauperiores, *L.*

[2] *Cannamellas.*] The sugarcane. For an account of the cultivation and ancient manufacture of the Zucra, see Albertus Aquensis, ap. Gesta Dei, p. 270.

[3] *Bis.*] *E. L.*; his, *C* 1. *D.*; hii, *A. S. C* 2.

[4] *Immenso.*] *S. D. E.*; infinito, *L.*

[5] *Gratiæ.*] *C. D. E.*; gratiarum, *A. S. L.*

[6] *In quo facto Urbani papæ consensum obligatum non ambigo.*] See note [2], p. 569.

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

Igitur post Circumcisionem Domini [1]sumptis in Jerico palmis, quod insigne peregrinantium antiquitas instituit, sedes quisque suas raptim repetere properarunt. Causa festinationis erat putor inconditorum cadaverum, quorum ita exhalabat cœnum ut ipsum violaret cœlum. Quocirca tabida pestis, in auras effluens, multos ex his qui noviter venerant lètho dedit; cæteri per urbes maritimas, Tiberiadem dico et Cæsaream Philippi, maturaverunt iter, quod eos tenuitas victus et hostilis metus urgebant. Sed fami, ut dixi, consuluere pedum celeritate: et trecentorum militum, qui eos de Baldac castello infestabant, furori prospexerunt militaris artis calliditate; namque simulata paulisper fuga, ut ipsi de angustiis locorum evadentes Turcos inducerent, consulto cessere, sed mox retroversi dispersos hostes pro libito [2]fudere. Putaverant illi nostros inhabiles pugnæ, quod essent clypei eorum et arcus pluviali abundantia lentati; nesciebantque quod non in armorum vel in tegminum fiducia, sed in excellenti vi animorum et crudo robore brachiorum victoria virorum consistat.

He returns to Edessa.

§ 375. Et tum quidem Baldewinus Edessam, Boamundus vero Antiochiam, incolumes remearunt. Initio autem Julii mensis licentia famæ Baldewini auribus detulit splendidum ducum nostrorum margaritum offuscatum, Boamundum scilicet captum, et in catenas conjectum, a quodam Danisman gentili, et in illis terris potenti. Quapropter, Edissenorum et Antiochenorum manu coacta, insignem Christianorum contumeliam

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[1] *Sumptis in Jerico palmis, quod insigne peregrinantium antiquitas instituit.*] Hence our word 'palmer,' or 'pilgrim.' V. Albert. Aquens. ap. Gesta Dei, p. 290. In this passage *L.* reads 'cæsis' instead of 'sumptis.'

[2] *Fudere.*] *S. D. E.*; cecidere, *L.*

ulcisci sperabat. Porro Turcus, (qui magis fraude et eventu quam virtute et [1]bellica militia ducem cepisset, quod cum paucis ad Mellentiniam urbem recipiendam venerat,) sciens Francos pro rei pudore viribus extremis in se usuros, in sua se recepit, compositis sane ordinibus, non quasi fugam intenderet, sed quasi triumphum duceret. Tunc Baldewinus, ultra Mellentiniam duorum dierum viam progressus, cum videret hostem belli necessitatem declinare, redeundum putavit; et ante tamen urbem in suos usus, non invito præfecto Gabriele, transduxit.

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

§ 376. Interea perlato ad se nuncio de fratris obitu, provincialium ac ducum in ejus electionem consensu, commendata Edessa Baldewino cognato, arctissimæ necessitudinis propinquitate conjuncto, et præter hæc neque imprudenti neque ignavo, ad Ierosolymitanum regnum mentem impulit. Congregatis ergo equitibus ducentis, et peditibus septingentis, iter plenum mortis et periculorum ingressus est; unde audaciæ tantæ contuitu multi, quos falso fideles arbitrabatur, fuga clandestina dilapsi. Ipse cum reliquis Antiochiam petiit, ingens momentum desolatis futurus, consilio sagacis mentis informans ut Tancredum peterent in ducatum. Inde per Gibellum et Laodiciam venit Tripolim: cujus urbis admiratus, natione quidem Turcus, sed genio naturali clementiæ visceribus profusus, extra muros illi victui necessaria destinavit; adjecto quinetiam benignitatis mandato ut prudenter se ageret, quia Ducah rex Damascenorum tramitem angustum occupaverat per quem illum audierat venturum. Ille, quem puderet minis Saracenis moveri, constanti animo, quo proposuerat, contendit; sed,

Is elected king, and proceeds to Jerusalem.

[1] *Bellica militia.*] *D. E.*; militia, *S. C.*; bellica justitia, *A. L.*

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

ad locum veniens, fidem admirati probavit. Est enim citra civitatem Beritum, milliariis circiter quinque, locus omnino angustus juxta mare, quem et prærupta rupium et arcta [1]collium adeo coercent, ut centum viri, faucibus illis potiti, quantumvis numerum itinerantium aditu prohibere queant. Locus est inevitabilis de Tripoli Ierosolymam euntibus. Huc ergo Baldewinus perveniens, speculatores misit qui situm loci et vires hostium renunciarent. Regressi legati difficultatem faucium, et adversariorum qui insederant fiduciam, vix pro timore intellecti, anhelarunt: at Baldewinus, qui parum ab optimo qui unquam fuerit milite distaret, nihil perterritus, aciem dispositam in eos constanter instituit. Tunc Ducah mittit aliquos qui prælia prima lacessant, eliciantque incautos; retentans ampliores vires in locis opportunis. Itaque illi primo magno impetu venire, mox subinde subterfugere, ut nostros in angustias deducerent. Non latuit Baldewinum hujuscemodi calliditas; sed, antiquæ militiæ usu instructus, suis ut fugam simularent innuit; simul et, ut suspicionem metus urgeret, sarcinas et impedimenta quæ [2]posuerant resumit, et jumenta stimulis agitari, quin et ordines laxari, ut hostes incurrerent, edixit. Tum vero hoc viso Turci exultare, et dirum frendentes, ut Eumenides exululare crederes, nostros insequi. Quidam ascensis navibus littora præoccupare; quidam equis præcurrere, et peregrinos incaute juxta mare ambulantes interimere. Nec Franci simulatam fugam omisere donec ad planitiem quam oculis destinaverant pervenirent: nullique tumultus excussere viris mentes, quinimmo ne-

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[1] *Collium.*] *S. C.*; callium, *A. D. E. L.*

[2] *Posuerant resumit.*] *D. E.*; jam deposuerant resumi, *A. S. C. L.*

cessitas qua intercepti erant aluit, et ministravit audaciam; et pauci terraque marique innumeras sustinuere manus. Namque, ut visum est satis metum finxisse, confertis ordinibus et conversis signis inimicos jam jamque incursantes includere; ita versa rerum facie, qui vicerant victi, et victi fuere victores. Turci perniciosa clade prostrati; reliqui ad naves præcipiti studio fugientes, cum in altum plus jactu sagittæ processissent, ita navigium remis et totis pectoribus innixi propellebant, quasi manibus adversariorum ad terram retrahi possent. Et ut miraculum non sicut opinabile dubites, sed sicut visibile quodammodo palpes, solummodo quatuor Christiani milites fusi victoriam cæteris sanguine peperere suo. Quapropter confirmo quod nunquam Christicolæ a Paganis vincerentur si ante bellum fortitudinem suam cœlestibus fulcirent præsidiis, et in bello armis suis amicas superorum applicarent virtutes; sed quia in pace omnibus se ingurgitant flagitiis, et in pugna sola nituntur audacia, ideo, nec immerito, multotiens fortitudo eorum deviat a bona fortuna. Comes ergo pulchro triumpho exultans, cum reversus esset ad spolia cæsorum detrahenda, non paucos Turcos offendit vivos; quos damni corporum immunes, sed pecuniis inanes, dimisit. Ipse cum suis, ne aliqua fraus lateret, retro secedens, nocte illa sub olivarum virgultis requievit: sed mox diluculo cum expeditis ad angustias accessit, fide oculata visurus loci naturam; intuitusque omnia tuta esse, (nam Turci qui pridie circa montem discursibus lascivierant, nocte intempesta, cæde suorum visa, omnes diffugerant,) significatione fumi facta, sicut convenerat, sociis discessum hostium intimavit. Illi, morarum vinculis absolutis, ducem continuo secuti. Tunc Beriti admiratus victum

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

Defeats the Turks.

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

[1] prætereuntibus misit, pro virtute [2] tam pauci exercitus stupefactus. Idem et Tyrii, et Sidonii, et Acharonitæ qui et Ptholomaitæ, fecere, tacito metu Francorum fortitudinem suspicientes. Nec minus homines Tancredi, qui in Chaipha erant, liberales fuere, quamvis ipse absens esset. Castri illius nomen antiquum reperire nequeo, quia omnes mediterraneæ civitates, [3] quæ in Josepho leguntur quondam fuisse, modo vel non sunt, vel, in viculos mutatæ, nomina perdiderunt: maritimæ integræ manent. Ita per Cæsaream Palestinæ et Azotum in Joppem ventum, ubi prima illi gratulatio regni fuit, civibus ingenti gaudio portas aperientibus.

Marches against Ascalon.

§ 377. Igitur a Joppitis Ierosolymam deductus, et ibi favorabiliter exceptus, dierum [4] sex spatio quieti satisfecit. Inde, ne Turci dubitarent indolem regni ejus magno eorum malo adolescere, versus Ascalonem expeditionem movit. Cumque non longe ab urbe vires suas ostentaret, impetentes Ascalonitas facili opera depulit; opportunum tempus ad id quod mente intendebat operiens. Denique repulsionem illorum gloriæ suæ tunc sufficere arbitratus, in montana receptui cecinit, ut hostes persequeretur; nec non et inimicorum damno necessaria suis conquisiturus, qui pro penuria terræ fame singultiebant, quia illo anno messis ægra victum negaverat, spem provinciæ sterili proventu decipiens. Itaque montana conscendit, quo habitatores terræ Turci relictis villis concesserant, Syros secum in penitus abditos specus immergentes: sed inve-

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[1] *Prætereuntibus.*] *A. D. E. L.*; præeuntibus, *S. C.*

[2] *Tam pauci.*] *D. E. L.*; tanti, *S. C.*; tam parvi, *A.*

[3] *Quæ ... leguntur quondam fuisse.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; quas ... legimus quondam fuisse, *S.*

[4] *Sex.*] *A. C. E. L.*; septem, *S. D.*

nere Franci quo commenta fugitivorum fallerent, fumo in ora cavernarum immisso; [1]quo latrones fugati pertinaciam amisere, uni et uni egredientes. Ita Turci ad unum omnes interfecti, Syri reservati. Inde digressus exercitus, Arabiamque petiturus, busta præteriit patriarcharum Abrahæ, Isaac, et Jacob, et trium matronarum Saræ, Rebeccæ, Liæ; locus est in Hebron, distans ab Ierosolymis tredecim millibus: nam corpus Joseph jacet in Neapoli, quæ olim Sichem dicta est, marmore candido tectum, omnibusque transeuntibus perspicuum; [2]ubi quoque fratrum visuntur mausolea, sed inferiori gloria. Venit ergo exercitus in vallem ubi quondam Deus Sodomam et Gomorram subvertit, cœlestem flammam in scelestos jaculatus. Ibi lacus per octodecim millia diffunditur, nullius viventis capax; præterea tractatu adeo horribilis, ut potantium ora torqueat, et gustu amaro rictus distendat. Valli mons prominet, per loca scrobes salsas eructans, et quasi congelato vitro totus perlucidus; ubi colligitur quod quidam nitrum, quidam salis gemmam, vocant. Evadentes ergo lacum venerunt ad villam sane locupletissimam, et mellitis pomis quæ dactylos [3]dicunt fœcundam; quorum esu se infarcientes vix lacunas ventrium implere, vix ingluviem faucium præ dulcedine temperare valebant. Cætera timore incolarum abrasa, præter aliquantos Æthiopes, ferrugineam capillorum lanugine fuliginem prætendentes; quorum cædem nostri æstimantes infra virtutem suam, non eos ira, sed risu dignati sunt. Huic villæ subjacet vallis in qua hodieque silex cernitur quo per-

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

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[1] *Quo.*] Here *D. E.* commence a new section.

[2] *Ubi quoque fratrum visuntur mausolea.*] *C. D. E.*; visunturque ibi fratrum ejus mausolea, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Dicunt.*] *S. D. E.*; vocant, *L.*

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

cusso Moyses mussitanti populo aquas infudit: latex adhuc tam uberi et præcipiti rivo influit, ut molendinorum vertigines impetu suo rotet. Tum in declivi montis extat ecclesia, in honore legiferi Aaron ædificata; ubi ipse, mediante et cooperante fratre, serebat cum Deo alloquia. Ibi a præviis, viarum gnaris, qui ex Saracenis Christiani essent, addiscentes inde usque ad Babylonem nihil esse nisi jejunum solum et omnium bonorum indigum, Ierosolymam reversi sunt, primitias regni tot hostilium regionum subjectione Deo consecraturi.

Coronation of Baldwin, 25th Dec. A.D. 1100.

§ 378. Paratis igitur [1] regiis insignibus, magna gloria in Bethleem die Dominicæ Nativitatis a Daiberto patriarcha coronatus est Baldewinus, fausta omnibus acclamantibus; nam ex tunc et deinceps nihilnon venerationis regiæ et ipse labore suo est meritus, et aliorum favore adeptus, quamvis minimi et pene dico pudendi regni dominus. Quare decet Christi Domini clementiam suspicere, et in [2] potentiæ illius contuitu spatiari, cujus suffragio timeri Christiani possent qui officere nequirent; vix enim in tota militia quadringenti milites erant, et tot pedites, qui Ierosolymam, et Ramulam, et Caipham, et Joppe custodirent. Nam qui veniebant navigio, intuto tamen inter tot hostium portus, animo sanctis adoratis, statim repatriandum censebant, pedestri via penitus interclusa. Cumulabat quinimmo difficultatem quod Martio mense Tancredus discesserat Antiochiæ principaturus, et nec ipse regi, nec rex ipsi, auxilium pro viæ longitudine [3] ferre valebat; adde quod, si necessitas exposce-

[1] *Regiis insignibus.*] *A. D. E.*; regalibus insigniis, *S.*; regis insignibus, *L.*; regalibus insignibus, *C.*

[2] *Potentiæ illius contuitu spatiari.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; contuitu ipsius spatiari, *C.*

[3] *Ferre valebat.*] *D. E.*; conferre valebat, *A. L.*; conferre valebant, *S.*; ferre valebant, *C.*

ret, sine irreparabilis discriminis metu gentem suam de uno in aliud castrum ne transduceret. Evidens ergo miraculum pronuncio, quod Dei solius tutum suffragio tanta barbarorum horrebat natio. Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

§ 379. Illo anno, qui fuit Dominicæ incarnationis millesimus centesimus primus, ignis sacratus, qui solebat vigiliam Paschæ illustrare, tardavit plus solito. Sabbato enim lectis alternatim lectionibus Græce et Latine, repetitoque ter 'Kyrie eleison,' et clara Syrorum melodia perstrepente, cum necdum appareret ignis, et jam occiduus sol vesperam urgeret, noctem inveheret, ab omnibus cum mœrore in domos discessum. Placuerat enim perpenso consilio ut illa nocte omni homine vacaret sancti Sepulchri ecclesia, ne aliquis, cui ulcerosa squalebat conscientia, Deum magis irritaret ingerendi impudentia. Jamque diluculo sensim in lucem serpente, processio Latinorum ad templum Salomonis edicitur, ut ibi oraturi Dei misericordiam invitarent: idem circa sepulchrum Domini faciebant Syri, vi doloris barbas et capillos vellicantes. Nec diu potuere pati divina viscera, confestim igne in unam lampadem sepulchri immisso. Quem cum animadvertisset Syrus per fenestras scintillantem, plausu manuum lætitiam prodens, cursum patriarchæ acceleravit. Ille, clavibus quas gestabat adytum ædiculæ sepulchralis aperiens, [1] cœleste munus cereo accenso extulit, omnibus ad hoc concurrentibus communicans. Mox per omnem ecclesiam cæteræ divinitus accensæ sunt lampades; mirum in modum illa, quæ proxime [2] illuminanda esset, fumo præmisso vicinam accen- A.D. 1101.

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[1] *Cæleste munus cereo accenso extulit.*] See Fulcher, Gesta Dei, p. 407.

[2] *Illuminanda.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

sionem docente. Sic nimirum Christi vetus artificium novit quos amat terrere ut mulceat, et in materiam transeat laudis comminatio potestatis. Quia enim dona Dei, usitata, assiduitate ipsa vilescunt hominibus; plerunque assensum indulgentiæ suæ [1]caritate commendat, ut ametur gratius quod desideratum fuerat ardentius.

Siege of Azotus, A.D. 1102.

§ 380. Tunc stolus navium Januensium et Pisanorum Laodiciam applicuerat, et inde Joppen prospero cursu navigaverat; nautæque, tractis ad terram ratibus, Ierosolymæ cum rege Pascha exegerant. Quorum ipse virtutem pretio vadatus, tertiam partem pecuniæ pepigit de omnibus urbibus quas adquirere [2]pariter possent, et vicum unum civitatis quem eligerent: ita præcipites, aurique cupidine cæcos magis quam pro Dei amore, impulit, ut, sanguinem suum nundinantes, statim Azotum obsiderent, et ad deditionem post tres dies flecterent. Nec vero difficulter oppidani se dedidere, iram regis, si vi caperentur, reveriti; quia præterito anno Godefridum idem aggressum acriter repulerant, maleficio fortunæ adjuti: siquidem cum ille suos [3]ascensu scalarum in murum erigeret, jam victores, jam fastigia mœnium tenentes, repentinus ligneæ turris casus, quæ forinsecus muro adjecta erat, viros victoria privavit, et plures extinxit; plures capti, et sævitia Saracenorum dilaniati. Inde Cæsaream Palestinæ Baldewinus totis viribus et obfirmato robore obsidens, cum videret civium pertinaciam et expugnandi difficultatem, machinas compaginari præcepit: factæ ergo petrariæ; facta turris

Of Cæsarea.

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[1] *Caritate.*] *E* 1.; raritate, *A. C. D. L.*; veritate, *E* 2.

[2] *Pariter.*] *D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. C. L.*

[3] *Ascensu scalarum in murum erigeret.*] *C. D. E.*; ascensu scalarum in muros promovisset, *S. L.*; scalarum in murum erectione promovisset, *A.*

ingens, viginti cubitis muri altitudinem vincens. At vero nostri, moræ impatientes, et tam diutinæ impotes expectationis, scalis erectis murum superare aggressi, obstinatione virium ad superiora evasere; conscientia virtutis frementes, quod, jam quindecim diebus Saracenicis bellis intenti, tanti temporis spatium perdidissent. Quamvis igitur extrema vi a Cæsariensibus certaretur, multos molares in ascendentes volventibus, illi, dissimulato periculo, cuneos obstantes perrumpere, brachiis exertis et strictis gladiis rem agentes. Turci ulterius non ferentes, fugamque adorsi, vel ipsi se præcipitaverunt, vel hostili manu occubuerunt; plures servituti, pauci redemptioni servati, inter quos admiratus urbis, et episcopus, quem Archadium vocant. Eratque spectaculum quod videnti cachinnum excuteret, cum Turcus, in collo Christiani pugno percussus, [1]byzantinos evomeret; nam miseri, extremæ inopiæ metu, mares intra gingivas, fœminæ intra non dicenda, nummos absconderant. Vides quod aperte loqui erubescit oratio; sed intelligit profecto lector quod volo, immo quod nolo, dicere.

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

§ 381. Nec adhuc quievit imperator Babylonis, quin ducem et exercitum ad expugnandos Francos missitaret. Illi, navigio Ascalonem appulsi, mox juxta Ramulam cursitarunt, curis regis ab-

Defeat of the Saracens.

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[1] *Byzantinos evomeret.*] 'Fulcher relates with great coolness that he saw the bodies of the Turks who were slain at Cæsarea piled up and burnt, in order to obtain the bezants which they had swallowed. (Hist. Hierosol. ap. Du Chesne, tom. IV. p. 845.) This practice of swallowing money is referred to by Pope Urban; and by his account the merely burning dead bodies to obtain the hoard was a very humble imitation of the Saracen custom with respect to those who visited Jerusalem before the Crusades: which was, to put scammony in their drink, to make them vomit; and, if this did not produce the desired effect, they proceeded to immediate incision. Guibert. Abbas, Opera, p. 379.' (Sharpe, 461.)

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

utentes, qui tunc Cæsariensi bello tenebatur. Agrorum igitur depopulatione ad congrediendum crebrius illum irritarunt. At ille non impari calliditate, ut calor indomitus defervesceret, vetito instantes passus languescere bello: hac effecit cunctatione, ut plerique [1]dilaberentur; reliquos, qui essent undecim millia equitum, [2]viginti unum millia peditum, cum suis, ducentis quinquaginta equitibus, peditibus paulo minus septingentis, invasit. Paucaque militibus locutus, quibus, si perstarent, victoriam, si morirentur, gloriam promitteret; si fugerent, longe Franciam esse commoneret; primus in hostes irruit: productoque aliquantum certamine, cum acies suas labare cerneret, desperatis rebus occurrit. Itaque nota sui specie Turcos proturbans, conto ducem prostravit; quo interemto, tota diffugere agmina. Nostri, qui principio pugnæ ita circumsepti fuerant ut nullus alterum videret, tunc, Dominicæ crucis vexillo prævio, adeo virtutem exercuerunt ut quinque millia trucidarent; ex Francis octoginta equites, pedites paulo plus desiderati. Porro sequens successus solatio fuit, quod quingentos equites Arabas interemerunt. Illi ante Joppen biduo cucurrerant, sed, parum explicantes, Ascalonem redibant; visoque eminus exercitu nostro, suos esse sperantes, tanquam triumphantibus congratulari obviam ibant: sed tandem aliquando in se jaculis emissis intelligentes Francos esse, perinde palluerunt, 'sicut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem,' [3]ut poetæ verbo utar; itaque, ipso hebetes stupore, terga cædentibus exhibuere. Ita rex Joppen perveniens errorem

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[1] *Dilaberentur.*] *C. D. E.*; morarum pertæsi dilaberentur, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Viginti unum.*] *S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; viginti, *E* 1.; *A.* omits 'equitum, viginti unum.'

[3] *Ut poetæ.*] Juvenal, Sat. I. 43.

epistolæ, quæ, Tancredo a Joppitis missa, falso regem cum exercitu extinctum nunciaverat, veraciori scripto correxit: jamque Tancredus iter ad Ierosolymam paraverat, cum nuncius veniens, ostenso sigillo regio, mœstitiam depulit, lætitiam reformavit. Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

§ 382. Longum est si velim explicare omnia ejus certamina; quomodo Tiberiadem, Sidonem, Accaronem, id est Ptholomaidem, quomodo postremo cunctas maritimas urbes, subegerit; quomodo pene omnem diem Turcorum mortibus insignierit, aut assultu clandestino aut bello publico. Ingentes operas ejusmodi desiderat [1]oratio hominis qui ampullato eloquio et curioso abundet otio; nobis utrumque deest, et, quod maxime obest, rerum expedita scientia; omnia vero indulgenti famæ credere, et facilitatem auditorum fallere, veracis [2]historici non debet esse. Quocirca illa solummodo quæ [3]scripto comperi apponam, quibus ad unguem comprobetur gloriosa viri devotio, et gratia victura in seculo: illudque constanter [4]asseruerim, [5]parva manu magna illum prælia persæpe lusisse; nec unquam campum fugisse, præter apud Ramulam et apud Accaronem. Enimvero ambas fugas prædicabiles exceperunt victoriæ, quod magis inconsiderata virtute quam timore provenerint, sicut paucis insertis lector agnoscet.

§ 383. Eo Septembri cujus septimo idus [6]prælium fuit, Willelmus comes Pictavensis Ierosolymam perrexit, multa secum ducens agmina, ut Sept. 7, A.D. 1101. Defeat of the earl of Poitiers.

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[1] *Oratio.*] *C. D. E.*; relatio, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Historici.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; historiæ, *S.* (var. lect.)

[3] *Scripto.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; scripta, *S.* (var. lect.)

[4] *Asseruerim.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; asseveraverim, *S.*

[5] *Parva.*] *S. D. E.*; pauca, *L.*

[6] *Prælium fuit.*] *C. D. E.*; prædictum fuit prælium, *A. S. L.*

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

æstimarentur [1] sexaginta millia militum, et multo plura peditum. Ivit cum eo Stephanus comes Burgundiæ, et Hugo Lizianensis, frater Raimundi comitis, et Hugo magnus, et Stephanus Blesensis, antiquæ discessionis improperium nova et excogitata virtute sarcire cupientes. Ita per Constantinopolim profectus, cum insolenti responso (ut superius dixi) Alexium offendisset, illo non curante, vel potius procurante, Solimanni incurrit insidias; qui sciens exercitum fame et siti laborare, quod aliquantis diebus errabundi per palustria et invia loca iverant, cum trecentis millibus sagittariorum occurrit. Nulla unquam luctuosior Francis pugna visa, quia nec timidum fuga, nec audacem virtus, poterat eripere discrimini; quod in arcto loco pugnaretur, et in consertos sagittarum nubes non frustraretur. Interfecta igitur plusquam centum millia, præda omnis abducta; ita Solimannus, ex manubiis Francorum claras manibus suorum nactus inferias, dispendium Niceæ ultus est. Sed quia multis tramitibus itum erat, nec omnes cæsi, nec omnia direpta; nam præter Pictavensem, qui pene ad pudenda nudatus erat, cæteri comites prompte sua defensitaverant. Omnes ergo, recollectis ex fuga militibus, præter Hugonem magnum, quem mortuum Tarsensis civitatis urna excepit, Antiochiam convolarunt; in quibus Tancredus, egregiæ pietatis miles, ingentem munificentiæ suæ gratiam ostendit, cunctos quatenus poterat pecuniis sustentans; Willelmum præcipue, quem fortunæ vicissitudo eo afflictaverat invidiosius quo ante provexerat serenius, qui præter gazas, quarum damno non adeo afficiebatur, quod caducæ sunt et reparabiles, ex tot

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[1] *Sexaginta millia militum.*] See note [3], p. 535.

eximiis militibus solus pene remanserat superstes. Ita recreatis animis iter moliti, undecunque belli occasiones quærebant. Sensit sitim furentium prima Tortuosa civitas; qua pervasa et direpta, non modicum præteritas ærumnas relevarunt. Inde ad angustias de quibus superius dixi venerunt, ubi eos rex jampridem operiebatur, contra Turcos, si prohibere vellent, opem laturus. Ejus virtute defensi, et benigno apud Joppem hospitio suscepti, Ierosolymam proximo Pascha contenderunt; ubi sacrosanctum ignem lætis hauserunt oculis, devotis adorarunt animis. Post hæc reversi Joppem, ascensis navibus, patriam quisque suam redire meditabatur: quorum Pictavensis, continua venti prosperitate provectus, patriam tenuit; cæteri retro violenter acti.

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

§ 384. Jam vero mense Maio [1]inchoante, Turci et Arabes Ramulam obsederunt, superioris anni damnum, novi exercitus supplemento, eodem reficientes numero. Episcopus urbis, prudenter opportunitate spectata, cavit sibi loco, Joppem latenter profectus. Jamque rex exierat, credens falso asserentibus non esse hostes plusquam quingentos: itaque nec aciem dirigere, nec pedites convocare curavit, tantum milites regem sequi cornicines monuerunt; multum amicis suadentibus ut Turcorum fraudes caveret. Stephani duo, Blesensis et Burgundus, regem equis insecuti, ne desides et inglorii, sed triumphalis pompæ [2]conscii, terras repeterent suas; sed aliam quam opinabantur gloriam, aliam victoriam, parabant fata viris. Namque rex, visa hostium multitudine, dum se frustratum opinione cognosceret, ira mentem saucius, et magnanimitatis consci-

Ramula besieged, May, A.D. 1102.

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[1] *Inchoante.*] *S. C. D. E.*; mediante, *A. L.*

[2] *Conscii.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L* 1.; consocii, *L* 2.

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

entia fremens, quid faceret hæsitabat: si cederet, præteritæ gloriæ ignominiam; si pugnaret, suorum mortes animo volutabat. Veruntamen vicit calor ingenitus, et terga jam dabat metus, cum, commilitonum hortatibus animatus ut fugam in castellum per medios hostes intenderet, acquievit. Cæteri, cum clamore secuti, densissimas perruperunt acies, animas suas Deo consecrantes, et mortes impigre ulti; comites quoque, feriendo defatigati adeo ut manus gladiis obrigescerent, neci succubuerunt. Rex, in arcem lapsus, ex ducentis quos duxerat aliquantos socios habuit; quibus orantibus ut vitam dignaretur fugiendo producere, sua pericula mundo parvi ponderis esse, illius vitam ad multorum profectum valere, utpote qui omni seculo sit virtutis spectaculum, quamvis in fractis rebus ingenti animi constantia, dignum se credidit vita. Itaque quinque militibus comitatus, in montana rependo, insidiantes elusit. Militum fuit unus Robertus Anglus, ut superius dixi; cæteros notitiæ nostræ fama tam longinqua occuluit. Ille cum [1]tribus comprehensus est; [2]unus evasit cum rege. Turci extremam vim furoris in illos qui [3]evaserant in arcem effuderunt, in quibus fuit Hugo Lizianensis et Gaufredus Vindocinensis; tres tantum superstites Ierosolymitanis nuncii miseriarum fuere. Rex interdiu [4]latens, cornipedem cursu exhaustum stimulans, Azotum pervenit: pulchro et ad miraculum Dei prono salutis eventu, quod paulo ante Turci discesserant, qui jam biduo circa urbem prædas egerant. Inde Joppen navigio veniens, Ierosolymitanis epistolam de vitæ suæ certitudine le-

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[1] *Tribus.*] *C. D. E.*; tribus aliis, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Unus.*] *C. D. E.*; quintus, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Evaserant.*] *S. D. E.*; refugerant, *L.*

[4] *Latens.*] *C. D. E.*; latens, noctu per avia, *A. S. L.*

gavit. Portitor chartæ fuit homuncio Syrus, qui, etsi inveniretur, habitus vilitate et sermonis noti commercio insidiantes falleret. Hic, notis sibi per devia compendiis perfidorum pericula declinans, tertio die Ierosolymam pervenit. Tum equites qui urbem tutabantur, junctis sibi auxiliarium peditum turmis, ad Joppen profecturi, iter mari proximum direxerunt, mediterraneis devitatis: extremi [1]tamen agminis Turcis urgentibus interfecti, quod vel equis vel peditibus destituebantur. Ita congregatis ex Ierosolymis nonaginta equitibus, ex Tyberiade octoginta, quos Hugo dux strenuissimus adduxerat in subsidium, armigeri quoque pro penuria in locum militum allecti. Postera ergo die moram pugnæ absolvit, Turcis jam adeo ferocibus ut paratis machinis murum Joppis aggredi [2]meditarentur. Præventum hoc Baldewini diligentia, et Dominica cruce prævia, qua superius bellum caruerat. Totis [3]viribus in hostes alacriter itum, acriter certatum; at illi, more solito nostros circumgyrantes, actum de Christianis putarunt, hilari ululatu vociferantes: sed affuit, et de cœlo tandem respexit Dominus Jesus, Francisque animositatem ingerens, inimicos campo privatos conjecit in fugam. Hoc et in anteriori prælio factum est, ut, non semel ejecti tentoriis, postea multitudine superarint: tum autem cum pedites eminus sagittis, et equites lanceis cominus ferirent, omni spe pedibus commissa, fugere perseveravere.

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

§ 385. Altera illi pugna posterioribus annis fuit, in qua milites nostri, Turcorum copia pressi et in fugam acti, etiam salutare vexillum ami-

A.D. 1113.

[1] *Tamen.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Meditarentur.*] *S. D. E.*; deliberarent, *L.*

[3] *Viribus.*] *C. D. E.*; regni viribus, *S. L.*; regiminibus, *A.*

Baldwin king of Jerusalem.

sere: sed cum longiuscule fugissent, reversi sunt; pudor famæ trepidos animavit ut ignominiam propulsarent. Ingens ibi pugna virorum fuit, collato pede et adverso pectore rem agentium. Nostri crucem reportarunt, fusis adversariis campum vindicantes. Ceciderunt ibi plures quos ego quoque noram; inter quos Godefridus, abnepos ejus nothus, jam inde a pueritia umbrám virtutis vultu colorans, veritatem animo spirans. Ambæ ergo fugæ fuere in principio quasi fomentum ignominiæ, sed in fine verax alimentum gloriæ: illa nominatior, sed ista fructuosior. [1]Denique ad supplementum rerum quas amiserat, simul et ad legitimum connubium, non multo post comitissa Siciliæ Ierosolymam venit; tantas gazas cubiculo regis inferens, ut mirum cuivis videatur unde mulier tam infinitos pretiosæ supellectilis cumulos [2]coacervarit; et tunc quidem illam thoro recepit, sed non multo post dimisit. Aiunt incommodo tactam, quo ejus genitalia cancer, morbus incurabilis, [3]exederit. Illud constat, regem prolis inopem fuisse; nec mirum si homo, cujus otium erat ægrescere, uxorios amplexus horruerit, omnem ætatem in bellis dete-

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[1] *Denique.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; Deinde, *S.*

[2] *Coacervarit.*] Albertus Aquensis mentions a variety of instances of the wealth of the Countess Adela, and states that the mast of the ship which conveyed her to Palestine was covered with pure gold. (Ap. Gesta Dei, p. 373.)

[3] *Exederit.*] *D. E. L.*; exesit, *S. C.*; corroserit, *A.*; exertit, *S.* (var. lect.)—Some authors assign a different reason for the divorce. His second wife (daughter of Taphnuz prince of Armenia), whom he had repudiated about the year 1105, and confined in the convent of St. Anne of Jerusalem, was then living. The marriage with the countess of Sicily, his third wife, was therefore set aside by the pope; after which she returned, in 1117, to Sicily, and died there, shortly after Baldwin. (Albert. Aquen. lib. XII. c. 24; Will. Tyr. lib. II. c. 1 and 15.) His first wife, who accompanied him on the Crusade, but died before her arrival at Antioch, was the daughter of Raoul II. lord of Toëni, and had been separated from her former husband, Robert comte de Meulent.

rens. Quibus laboribus effecit, ut admirabilis et pene divina virtus ejus fuerit præsentibus stimulo, futura posteris miraculo. Obiit in expeditione Arabica mense Aprili, et publico funere Ierosolymis juxta fratrem tumulatus, [1]cum decimo septimo anno regni quartus accresceret mensis. Vir multis laboribus emeritus, et cujus gloriæ nullus prætendit nubila livor, nisi quod fuerit pecuniæ justo tenacior; sed hujus culpæ facilis et vera erit excusatio, si consideretur quod necessaria in remanentes effusio munerum inhibuerit quo minus mercaretur favorem abeuntium.

Death of Baldwin, A.D. 1118.

§ 386. Successit ei Baldewinus cognatus, dux Edessæ, quem moriens regem denunciaverat, antiquis jam stipendiis laudatum. Ille [2]multis annis regnum impigre tutatus, etiam auxit Antiocheno principatu; quem, occiso Rogerio filio Ricardi, [3]obtinuit. Utrasque ergo regiones egregio moderamine rexit, minori quidem præsumptionis roncho, sed majori et consultiori providentia; quamvis sint qui opinionem ejus lacerent, tenacitatis eum nimiæ arguentes. Quare, cum præterito anno non longe ab Ierosolyma equitantem Turci cepissent, paucis aut nullis [4]gemitibus sui eum desiderarunt; latuitque pene anno et incolas et rumigerulos, quo terrarum abductus, si superis auris vesceretur, necne. Refutarunt porro Ierosolymitæ vel regem facere, vel ordinem et ducatum militum interrumpere, quoad rei certitudo sciretur, propter ejus absentiam in nullo infractiores. Postmodum vero, cognito loco quo vinculatus fuerat, milites auda-

Accession of Baldwin II.

[1] *Cum decimo septimo anno regni.*] *S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; 'regni' omitted in *E* 1.; cum septem et decem regni annis, *A.*

[2] *Multis annis.*] *S. C. D. E.*; ad hoc tempus, *A. L.*

[3] *Obtinuit.*] Roger, prince regent of Antioch, son of Richard seneschal of Apulia, married Hodierna, sister of Baldwin II. He was slain in 1119.

[4] *Gemitibus.*] *S. D. E.*; gemitibus, ut ferunt, *L.*

cissimi speciem negotiatorum mentientes, armis sub vestibus occultatis, oppidum ingressi, regem eripuere discrimini; protestati non conferre se id ejus avaritiæ, [1]sed Gozelini de Turbexel gratiæ, qui nihil unquam pensi fecerat quin omnia quæ posset militibus erogaret. [2]Vixit diu frugi homo, et nulli præter hanc culpam infamiæ obnoxius. Principatus Antiochenus ad [3]Boamundi spectat filium, de quo nunc dicam.

DE BOAMUNDO.

Account of Bohemond prince of Antioch.

§ 387. [4]Boamundus Roberti Guiscardi ex [5]Normanna filius fuit: alter, [6]Rogerius, ex Appula genitus, qui cognomen Marsupii a patre meruit, quod paterno et curioso intuitu deprehendisset eum jam a tenero libenter nummos numerare; nam Boamundus ætatis majusculæ nihil erat quod retineret, sed etiam puerilia xenia dispertiret. Itaque Rogerius Apuliam, quæ sibi materno genere competere videbatur, accepit: Boamundus cum genitore ad bellum Durachinum profectus est. Cumque oppidani fiducia mœnium jactita-

[1] *Sed Gozelini de Turbexel gratiæ.*] 'This account appears in some measure incorrect: Gozelin and the king were both confined in the same castle. On its being seized, Gozelin escaped, and collected troops to liberate his friends, who were now themselves besieged; but, ere his arrival, the Turks had made themselves masters of the fortress, and carried off the king, who did recover his liberty for some time, and then only by paying a considerable ransom. Fulcher. Carnot. et Will. Tyr. ap. Gesta Dei.' (Sharpe, 469.)

[2] *Vixit diu.*] *S. D. E.*; vivit adhuc, *L.*—Baldwin died 21st Aug. A.D. 1131.

[3] *Boamundi.*] *A. C. D. E.*; Boamundum, *S. L.*—Bohemond II. son of Bohemond I. and Constance, daughter of Philippe I. of France.

[4] *Boamundus.*] Bohemond, the son of Guiscard by his first wife Alberade, was baptized Mark; but his father, hearing a tale related of a giant Buamund, gave him that appellation. (Ord. Vital. p. 817.)

[5] *Normanna.*] *E* 1.; Normannia, *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*

[6] *Rogerius.*] Roger, afterwards king of Sicily, was the son of Guiscard by his second wife Sikelgaite, daughter of Gaimar IV. prince of Salerno.

rent ideo urbem Durachium nominatam, quod contra omnes obsidiones imperterrita duraret, 'Et ego' ([1]inquit) 'vocor Durandus; et eo usque in obsidione durabo quo civitati nomen auferam, ut non [2]Durachium sed Mollicium amodo dicatur.' Cujus responsi constantia effecit ut confestim pavefacti portas aperirent. Ita tutus a tergo, cæteras urbes usque ad Tessalonicam leviore labore subegit. Jamque illuc pervenerat, jam Alexium tum per se tum per filium vinci posse docuerat, cum uxoria fraude deceptus ingens [3]depositum morte destituit. Tum vero Boamundus, Apuliam reversus, aliquot castella fraterna indulgentia tenuit, multa ipse virtute et prudentia conquisivit, nam ad fratrem specie tenus ducatus pervenerat; alterum bello [4]meliores sunt secuti. [5]Nec vero parvi momenti fuit quod, paterni propositi sequax, Guibertum repellens, Urbano validissime astitit, et cunctantem impulit ut Gallias ad concilium Clari Montis accederet, quo eum Raimundi Provincialis comitis et episcopi Caturcensis epistolæ invitabant. Concilioque celebrato, libens occasionem accepit, et in Græciam copias trajecit; subindeque promovens exercitum, modeste Raimundum et Godefridum [6]operiebatur: quibus venientibus sociatus, magnum incitamentum cæteris erat, disciplinæ militaris

Account of Bohemond.

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[1] *Inquit.*] *C. D. E.*; inquit Guiscardus, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Durachium.*] The Romans had changed the inauspicious name of *Epi-damnus* to Dyrrachium (Plin. III. 26), and the vulgar corruption of Durachium bore some affinity to 'duritia,' implying 'hardness.' One of Robert's names was Durand, a durando. (Alberic. Monach. in Chron. apud Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. IX. p. 137.) There is a play upon the words, 'non Durachium sed Mollicium,' intended to imply soft and hard, —'mollis' and 'durus.'

[3] *Depositum.*] *E* 1. *L* 2.; dispositum, *S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 1.

[4] *Meliores sunt secuti.*] *E.*; meliores secuti, *A. D. L.*; meliorem secuti, *S. C.*

[5] *Nec.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; jam, *S.*

[6] *Operiebatur.*] *S. D. E.*; venturos operiebatur, *L.*

Account of Bohemond.

scientia et virtute nulli secundus. Sed quia quæ cum cæteris fecit communi laudi sors attribuit, et quomodo captus fuerit anterior sermo notitiæ dedit, nunc qualiter se servitio exuerit dicendum. Danisman enim, cum videret nihil utilitatibus suis applicari quod tantum virum teneret, inflexus [1]animo de pacis conditionibus actitare cœpit: nam nec illum occidere, ne in se odia Christianorum effusa concitaret, nec, sine spebus in perpetuum valituræ pacis, dimittere volebat. Pollicitus ergo Boamundus continuam gentili concordiam, revertit Antiochiam, argenteos compedes quibus [2]alligatus fuerat secum deferens: a suis ergo exceptus plausibiliter, Laodiciam, et cæteras urbes quas Tancredus acquisierat, suscepit, ne videretur oscitare otio dum avunculus suspiraret in ergastulo. Nec multo post Gallias venit, offerens catenas sancti Leonardi honori, quæ sibi fuerant oneri. Fertur enim in primis [3]ille sanctus absolvendorum vinculorum potens, ut, videntibus nec mutire audentibus adversariis, pondera sua captivus liber asportet. Ita ducta uxore filia regis Francorum, et altera Tancredo missa, repetiit Apuliam; sequentibus se Francorum proceribus, qui spe majoris commodi patriam deserebant, simul et spectaturi cominus quid viva virtutis species efficeret, quam tam insignis fama ubique loqueretur. Itaque ille, dispositis apud

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[1] *Animo.*] *S. D. E.*; animi mollitie, *L.*

[2] *Alligatus.*] *A. D. E.*; illigatus, *S. C. L.*

[3] *Ille sanctus absolvendorum vinculorum potens.*] 'Leonard was grandson to Clovis king of France, and obtained, through the favour of that monarch, that, whenever he should see any one who was in chains, he should immediately be set at liberty. At length it pleased God to honour him to that degree, that if any person in confinement invoked his name, his chains immediately fell off, so that he might depart, the keepers themselves having no power to prevent him. Vide Surius, Vitæ Sanct. Nov. 6.' (Sharpe, 471.)

Apuliam rebus suis, denuo in Alexium efferatus est, prætendens belli causam peregrinorum injuriam, qua ille perinfamis erat; sed parum et prope nihil gessit prospere, solertis imperatoris deceptus astutia, qui omnes duces ejus aut pecuniis obæratos ab eo alienavit, aut veneno, [1] ut dixi, sustulit. Quapropter animo dejectus Apuliam rediit; ibique post paucos dies, dum ad Antiochiam iter [2] meditatur, defungitur, ætate citra senium, prudentia infra nullum, relicto tenerioris ævi filio. Vir in adversis constans, in prosperis circumspectus; nam et, pro suspicione noxiæ potionis, paratum commentus erat remedium, cultellum, qui, ante ora comedentis infixus, sudore, mirum dictu, prodebat manubrii si quid tecto illatum esset veneficii. Post eum Tancredus Antiochiæ principatui præfuit, haud pudendus avunculo nepos; qui cum et ipse communem mortalium viam obitu præpropero trivisset, successit Rogerius filius Ricardi. Is, gloriæ antecessorum in bellis non impar, ignominiam tamen avaritiæ incurrit; quapropter, cum eum milites caverent, stipendiario milite pene nullo et indigena raro Turcis congressus occubuit, mortem suam non ignave ultus. Nam cum ab [3] eis captus et diloricatus juberetur ensem reddere, negavit se ulli nisi duci [4] daturum, quod omnes infra dignitatis suæ deditionem aspiceret. Credidit infelix admiratus simulatis vocibus; et jam, galea caput nudatus, porrexit manum ut reciperet Rogerii gladium. Tunc vero ille infrendens, et totis fortitudinis reliquiis in ictum se cogens, Turco caput decussit; moxque perfossus, excogitato genere virtutis, dedecus ser-

Account of Bohemond.

Feb. A.D. 1111.

A.D. 1111.

6th Dec. A.D. 1112.

A.D. 1119.

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[1] *Ut dixi.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Meditatur.*] *D. E.*; meditaretur, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Eis.*] *C. D. E.*; Turcis, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Daturum.*] *A. D. E. L.*; redditurum, *S. C.*

Account of Bohemond.

vitutis effugit. Ejus mortem Baldewinus secundus rex Ierosolymorum ultus insigniter, principatum civitatis [1] et filiam suam Boamundo filio Boamundi servavit fideliter.

DE RAIMUNDO.

Account of Raymond count of Thoulouse.

§ 388. Raimundus fuit filius [2] Willelmi antiquissimi Tolosæ comitis, qui, vir acer et efficax, patriam, antecessorum suorum socordia obscuram, titulis suis reddidit illustrem. Uxor ejus [3] Almodis, multis vicissim desponsata, multam ex omnibus sobolem tulit; insano muliercula pruritu et irreverenti, ut cum ei longo usu vir displicuisset, alias migraret novos impletura penates; denique primum [4] Arelatensi comiti nupta, mox illius pertæsa, huic Willelmo se conjunxit; cui cum duos peperisset filios, [5] Barcinonensem ad connubium illexit comitem. Porro Willelmus, mortis confinis foribus, Tolosanum comitatum dedit filio æquivoco, sed moribus absono, quod esset crassioris [6] ingenii, et nihil Tolosani contra eum novarent, familiæ illius dominatui assueti. Raimundus vero, vivacioris spiritus, [7] Caturcensem

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[1] *Et filiam suam . . . fideliter.*] *S. D. E.*; Boamundi filio reservat fideliter, *L.*—The accession of Bohemond II, and his marriage with Alix, daughter of Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem, were subsequent to the year 1126. (L'Art de vérif. les Dates, I. 442.)

[2] *Willelmi.*] More correctly 'Pontii.' Raymond was the brother of William, and son of Pontius count of Thoulouse. To Pontius therefore should be referred all that Malmesbury here relates of William. Raymond count of St. Giles and Thoulouse, took his name of St. Giles from the place of his birth, or first appanage. It is situated in the Lower Languedoc, between Nismes and the Rhone. He was also duke of Narbonne and marquis of Provence.

[3] *Almodis.*] She was the daughter of Bernard count of La Marche en Limosin. Her first husband was Hugh V. sire de Luzignan, from whom she was divorced, and afterwards married Pontius count of Thoulouse.

[4] *Arelatensi comiti.*] More correctly Hugh de Luzignan.

[5] *Barcinonensem . . . comitem.*] Raymond Berenger I. comte de Barcelone.

[6] *Ingenii.*] *S. D. E.*; animi, *L.*

[7] *Caturcensem.*] Querci.

accepit et [1]non mediocriter auxit; Arelatensi, et Narbonensi, et Provinciali, et Lemovicensi adjunctis. Tolosam quoque a germano emit, pluribus annis ante magni motus viam profecto Ierosolymam. Sed hæc multi temporis intercessu et ætate impensa labori. Itaque, pugnis semper assiduus, legitimam uxorem non desideravit, multinubo concubinatu voluptatem exercens. Denique ex una pellicum filium natum, Bertramnum, cognatione et hæreditate dignatus est, quod in aliquantis patrissaret; cui uxorem conjunxit [2]Matildis Marcisæ neptem ex Longobarda natam, ut illius affinitate [3]illas provinciæ partes tutaretur. Ipse quoque extremis fere annis uxorem ascivit filiam regis Tarraconensis, splendidam dotem pactus, æternam scilicet conterminarum provinciarum pacem. Nec multo post, nivem capitis respiciens, Ierosolymitanum iter vovit, ut lassi et effœti corporis vires jam vel sero Deo deservirent; auctore præcipue Caturcensi episcopo, cujus præcipua opera ipse semper impugnatus fuerat: etiam in quodam duellio altero lumine privatus, cujus insigne calamitatis præ se ferens non solum non occultabat, sed etiam gloriabatur ultro, specimen nobilis militiæ ostentans. Tunc autem mutua fœderati amicitia, ut senectutem suam divinis consumerent cultibus, Urbano jam in prædicationem prono stimulos addidere, ut, transitis Alpibus, potissimum apud Clarum Montem concilium cogeret, quod esset ea civitas et illorum patriæ propinqua, et ex tota Gallia venientibus opportuna. Veruntamen, in ipso ad concilium itinere, pontifex obitu defecit. Suc-

Account of Raymond.

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[1] *Non mediocriter.*] *C. D. E.*; immane quantum, *S. L.*; in immensum, *A.*

[2] *Matildis Marcisæ neptem.*] Eluta, or Helena, daughter of Otho I. duke of Burgundy.

[3] *Illas.*] *A. D. E. L.*; illius, *S. C.*

Account of Raymond.

cessit curæ illius [1]præsul Podii, de quo supra diximus: cujus hortatibus animatus, et umbone protectus, Raimundus primus omnium laicorum crucem accepit; adjiciens voto ut nunquam in patriam rediret, sed potius, duraturo in Turcos labore, [2]arvinam præteritarum iniquitatum extenuaret. Jam vero in itinere plura dedit indicia fortitudinis, ad laborem primus, ad quietem ultimus; plura etiam patientiæ, quod [3]arce Antiochiæ, quam [4]occupaverat, Boamundo, et turri David, Godefrido, libenter cesserit. Sed tandem, nimiis exactionibus quorundam fracta patientia, in deditionem urbis Ascalonensis decidit. Siquidem in primo Francorum adventu oppidani, exploratis omnium ducum nostrorum moribus, ipsum in patronum elegere, quod multi, eo ante a Monte [5]Pessulano navigio venientes negotiatum, fidem ejus et virtutem in cœlum tulerant. Itaque, traditis clavibus, sacramento ducem adegere ut nulli Christianorum potestatem urbis refunderet, si vel ipse nollet tenere vel nequiret. Tunc a proceribus mussitatum est, expostulantibus urbem regis dominio, quod parum ei valeret regnum si non haberet Ascalonem, quæ hostibus esset receptaculo, nostris obstaculo. Et rex quidem [6]leviter, ut omnia, et vultu tranquillis conveniente moribus, rem allegabat; cæteri pervicacius. Hæc illa verba parvi pendebat, non infirmis rationibus dicta eorum [7]cassans: Omnes socios suos jam sibi receptui consuluisse, partim

A.D. 1096.

A.D. 1099.

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[1] *Præsul.*] *C. D. E.*; pontifex, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Arvinam.*] *C. E* 1. *L.*; ruinam, *A. S.*; a ruina, *D. E* 2.

[3] *Arce.*] *E.*; parte, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[4] *Occupaverat.*] *A. D. E. L.*; præoccupaverat, *S. C.*

[5] *Pessulano.*] *S. C. D. E.*; Pislerio, *A. L.*

[6] *Leviter.*] *C. D. E.*; leniter, *A. S. L.*

[7] *Cassans.*] *A. D. E. L.*; cassa faciens, *S.*; cassa sunt, *C* 1.; cassatus, *C* 2.

patriam devectos, partim acquisitam inhabitantes provinciam; se solum, abjurata [1]naturali terra, nec illuc posse redire, nec hic receptum habere. Cessisse se in aliis: hoc modo paterentur, ut Ascalonem in fidelitatem sancti Sepulchri teneret; cæterum, ne redderet sacramento fecisse. Quo audito cuncti strepere, perfidum et cupidum vocare, ut vix manibus temperarent. Contumeliæ hujus rubore comes suffusus, ab æqui bonique viri descivit officio; inimicis Dei claves [2]civitatis contradens, et metum pejerandi multorum in posterum sanguine compensans. Neque enim ad hunc diem civitas illa capi vel vi vel ingenio potuit: [3]quin et plures ex hominibus illius, affluenti urbis opulentia delectati, fidei transfugio civium charitatem meruere. Ita vir ille, Ierosolymam egressus, Laodiciam venit; qua subjugata, aliquantum ibi morarum nexuit: cumque Constantinopolim ivisset, obtinuit Laodiciam Tancredus, vi an amore ambiguum. Ille interea Byzantio commoratus, prudentia qua vigebat effecit ut Alexii gratiam haberet: unde contigit, ut, imperatoris benignitate per tuta deductus, societati ærumnarum non implicaretur quas Willelmum Pictavensem et cæteros [4]superius incurrisse diximus; cum quibus [5]Tortosam civitatem cepit, sed, illis ultra euntibus, solus possedit. Et, ut latius vires suas spargeret, oppidum contra Tripolim, quod Castellum Peregrinorum vocant, firmavit, et ibi Herbertum episcopum ex abbate constituit; et, ut quassæ suorum vires aliquanta quiete coalescerent, cum Tripolitanis in septen-

Account of Raymond.

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[1] *Naturali.*] *D. E.*; natali, *A. S. C. L.*

[2] *Civitatis.*] *D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. C. L.*

[3] *Quin.*] *A.C.D.E.L.*; quia, *S.*

[4] *Superius.*] *A. S. C.D.E 2. L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[5] *Tortosam.*] *S.*; Tortuosam, *A. C. D. E. L.*

Account of Raymond.

nium fœdus jecit. Veruntamen ante præstitutum terminum pax rupta est; deprehenso intra castellum quodam oppidano cum pugione toxicato, quem sub fœmore occuluerat. Tum profecto Tripolitanæ victoriæ supremam manum imposuisset, nisi prope diem mors adveniens præsentis vitæ spiritum subduxisset ingentia parturientem. Cujus morte audita, Willelmus de Monte [1]Pessulano, et cæteri duces provinciæ, Willelmum peregrinum, quem in ipsa obsidione ex Hispana susceperat, [2]quadrimum, patriam devehendum curarunt, sollicita omnium spe in successionem educandum. Nec invitus Bertramnus [3]factum, quamvis se inconsulto, audivit, ut paternas adoreas instauraret. Itaque innumero succinctus milite, præcipueque Januensibus et Pizanis, qui de conjugis cognatione erant, annitentibus, Tripolim terra marique aggressus est, diuturnaque obsidione fractam in potestatem redegit. Successit ei filius Pontius ex Longobarda, adolescens majorum æmulus gloriæ; sortitusque est [4]jugalem Tancredi, quondam Antiocheni principis uxorem. Id enim ille moriens præceperat, protestatus [5]in ephœbo et Christianorum commodum et Turcorum omnifariam dispendium. Pontius ergo Tripoli principatur, sancti Sepulchri se profitens servum, avitum scilicet et paternum secutus exemplum.

28th Feb. A.D. 1105.

A.D. 1109.

A.D. 1112.

DE ROBERTO CURTA OCREA.

Account of Robert duke of Normandy.

§ 389. Robertus filius Willelmi Anglorum regis primi, natus in Normannia, spectatæ jam vir-

[1] *Pessulano.*] *S. C. D. E.*; Pislerio, *A. L.*

[2] *Quadrimum.*] *D. E.*; vix quadrimum, *A. S. C. L.*

[3] *Factum.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L.*; fratrem, *S.* (var. lect.)

[4] *Jugalem.*] *A. S. C. E. L.*; conjugalem, *D.*

[5] *In ephœbo.*] *C. D. E.*; adolescere in ephœbo, *A. S. L.*

tutis habebatur adolescens quando pater Angliam venit; fortitudinis probatæ, quanquam exilis corporis et pinguis aqualiculi. Inter bellicas patris alas excrevit primævo tyrocinio, parenti morem in omnibus gerens. Veruntamen, [1]juvenilem indutus calorem, Normanniam a patre adhuc vivente, fatuorum sodalium instinctu, impetrare se posse speravit: quod cum ille negasset, terrisonæ vocis roncho juvenem abigens, iratus abscessit Robertus, multisque assultibus patriam infestavit; primo quidem genitore cachinnos excutiente, et subinde dicente, 'Per resurrectionem Dei! probus erit Robelinus Curta Ocrea.' Hoc enim erat ejus cognomen, quod esset exiguus; cæterum nihil habens quod succenseres, quia nec illepidæ formæ, nec infaceti eloquii, nec virtutis imbecillæ, nec enervis erat consilii. Posterius vero rex adeo effera succensus est ira ut eum et benedictione ultima et hæreditate fraudaret Anglica, comitatu tamen Normanniæ ægre licet et improbe retento. Post novem annos Ierosolymitanæ viæ laboribus suæ fortitudinis periculum fecit; et in multis quidem mirabilis apparuit, ut nunquam a Christiano vel pagano potuerit ex equite pedes [2]effici. Tum vero maxime in bello Antiocheno, cujus ipse victoriam pulchra experientia nobilitavit. Nam cum Turci, ut diximus, subito terrefacti fugæ se [3]dedissent, nostrique palantes vehementius impeterent, Corbaguath dux, genuinæ virtutis memor, retento equo suos [4]inclamat, famulos ignavos et annosarum victoriarum oblitos vocans, ut victores quondam ori-

Robert duke of Normandy.

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[1] *Juvenilem indutus calorem.*] *C. E.*; juvenilem inductus calorem, *D.*; juventæ viridem indutus calorem, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Effici.*] *A. D. E. L.*; fieri, *S. C.*

[3] *Dedissent.*] *S. D. E.*; commisissent, *L.*

[4] *Inclamat.*] *C. D. E.*; inclamavit, *A. S. L.*

Robert duke of Normandy.

entis paterentur se ab advena et pene inermi populo finibus excludi: quo clamore multi, resumentes animum, Francos conversi urgere et propiores cedere cœpere; Corbaguath suos animante et hostes feriente, ut imperatoris et militis probe officium exequeretur. Tum vero Normannus comes, et Philippus clericus, filius Rogerii comitis de Monte Gomerico, et Warinus de [1]Tanea castello Cenomannico, mutua se vivacitate invicem hortati, qui ante simulata fuga cedebant, convertunt cornipedes, et quisque suum comparem incessens dejiciunt. Ibi Corbaguath, quamvis comitem cognosceret, solo tamen corpore mensus, simul et fugere inglorium arbitratus, audaciam congressus morte propinqua luit,

A.D. 1097.

vitali statim spiritu privatus: cujus nece visa, Turci, qui jam gloriabundi ululabant, spe recenti exinaniti, fugam iterarunt. In eo tumultu Warinus cecidit, Robertus cum Philippo palmam retulit: Philippus hac malitia [2]præcluus, sed Ierosolymis, ut fertur, bono fine functus; præter exercitium equestre literis clarus. Ita Robertus, Ierosolymam veniens, indelebili macula nobilitatem suam respersit, quod [3]regnum, consensu omnium sibi [4]utpote regis filio delatum, recusaret, non reverentiæ, ut fertur, contuitu, sed laborum

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[1] *Tanea.*] *C. D. E.*; Taneo, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Præcluus.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L* 1.; præclusus, *L* 2.

[3] *Regnum . . . recusaret.*] The original historians of the Crusade make no mention of Robert by name as refusing the crown. It is, however, to be found in Henry of Huntingdon. To Raymond of Thoulouse is also ascribed the honour of refusing the crown. (Villehardouin, No. 136.) It would seem that it was offered to and refused by all the chiefs in succession; but Godfrey of Bouillon was compelled by the unanimous voice of the army to accept it. (Alb. Aquens. lib. VI. c. 33.)

[4] *Utpote regis filio.*] The crown for the same reason might also have been offered to Hugh the Great, brother of King Philippe of France, but he had embraced an ambiguous opportunity of returning to his own country. Guibert (pp. 518, 523) attempts to excuse Hugh the Great.

inextricabilium metu. Veruntamen patriam regresso, in qua licenter se delicatis voluptatibus inserviturum putaverat, affuit pro hac culpa, [1] credo, Deus misericorditer ubique sæviens, et omnes ejus dulcedines amarissimis offensionibus offuscans, sicut consequenti scripto palam fiet. Uxorem filiam Willelmi de Conversana, quam rediens in Apuliam duxerat, cujus elegantissimæ speciei prodigium vix ullius disertitudinis explicabit conatus, post paucos annos [2] morbo amisit; deceptam, ut dicunt, [3] obstetricis consilio, quæ pro affluentis lactis copia, puerperæ mammas stricta præceperat illigari fascia. Sed accessit, tantorum malorum grande solatium, filius ex conjuge [4] susceptus; qui, Willelmus dictus vaticinio nominis aviti, spem egregiæ [5] pietatis aleret in posterum. Pecuniam infinitam, quam ei socer dotis nomine annumeraverat, ut ejus commercio Normanniam exueret [6] vadimonio, [7] ita dilapidavit ut pauculis diebus nec nummus superesset. Præcipitavit quoque infamiam ejus inconsultus adventus in Angliam, ut fratri Henrico regnum eriperet; sed, desertorum qui eum invitaverant destitutus auxilio, germani paci facile acquievit [8] utriusque partis ducum [9] auxilio, trium millium marcarum annuum donum ab Anglia verbo tenus

Robert duke of Normandy.

A.D. 1100.

A.D. 1103.

A.D. 1106.

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[1] *Credo.*] *C. D. E.*; ut credo, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Morbo amisit.*] Sibilla duchess of Normandy died by poison, according to Ordericus Vitalis, and the Continuator of William of Jumiéges. Malmesbury's account does not appear to be supported by any contemporary testimony.

[3] *Obstetricis.*] *S. D. E.*; pellicis, *L.*

[4] *Susceptus.*] *S. C.*; sublatus, *A. D. E. L.*

[5] *Pietatis.*] *D. E.*; indolis, *S. C.*; probitatis, *A. L.*

[6] *Vadimonio.*] Normandy was only mortgaged for ten thousand marks, about the one-hundredth part of its present value.

[7] *Ita dilapidavit.*] *C. D. E.*; mimorum et nebulonum sinibus ita ingessit, *A. S. L.*

[8] *Utriusque.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; utrique, *E* 1.

[9] *Auxilio.*] *C. D. E.*; arbitrio, *A. S. L.*

Robert duke of Normandy.

habiturus. Nam promiserat ista rex, non daturus; sed, fratris facilitatem non nesciens, blandam credulitatem luserat dum interim calor bellicus defervesceret. Porro ille, quasi cum fortuna certaret utrum plus illa daret an ipse dispergeret, sola voluntate reginæ tacite postulantis comperta, tantam massam argenti benignus in perpetuum ignovit; acclines fœminei fastus preces pro magno exosculatus. Erat enim ejus in baptismo filiola, offensarum igitur erat immemor; culparum, quatenus non debet, remissor; omnibus pro voto respondens adeuntibus, ne tristes dimitteret; et quod dare non posset, [1]repromittens. Qua morum dulcedine, qui laudari et subjectorum amorem mercari debuerat, adeo in contemptum sui Normannos exacuit ut nullius eum momenti [2]æstimarent. Tunc enim potentum quisque sibi adversari, [3]tunc manubiæ prædarum per totam regionem agi, tunc vulgus expoliari. Quas incommoditates comiti provinciales deferentes, nullum referebant auxilium; dum ille primo commotus, mox vel munusculis, vel temporis intercessu ira languescente, leniebatur. Iccirco, extremis malis admoniti, opem regis Henrici censuere implorandam, ut laboranti patriæ succurreret. Ille [4]Cæsarianæ sententiæ assistens, 'Si violandum est jus, gratia civium violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas,' non semel in Normanniam vires trajecit, ut laboranti justitiæ manum daret: tantumque postremo valuit, ut totam terram, præter Rotomagum, et Falesium, et Cadomum, subjugaret. Jamque ad hoc Robertus venerat, ut in vicis illis pene se altero vagaretur, precarium

State of Normandy.

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[1] *Repromittens.*] *D. E.*; compromittens, *A. S. C. L.*

[2] *Æstimarent.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; æstimarant, *E* 1.

[3] *Tunc.*] *A. S. C. L.*; omitted in *D. E.*

[4] *Cæsarianæ sententiæ.*] Compare Cicero, De Offic lib. III. c. 21.

victum a Burgensibus [1]nundinans. Quare offensi Cadomenses, non diu in fide mansere; sed, rege per nuncios admonito, portis serratis et repagulis objectis urbem clausere. Quo Robertus cognito effugere gestiens, vix permissus est, armigero tamen cum cubiculi pannis retento. Inde raptim Rotomagum veniens, dominum suum regem Francorum, et cognatum comitem Flandrensem, de suffragio convenit; sed, nullo impetrato, ad bellum publicum venit, ultimam fortunam experturus. Qua illum infelici pede prosequente, captus, et ad [2]diem mortis in libera [3]tentus est custodia laudabili fratris pietate; quod nihil præter solitudinem [4]passus sit mali, si solitudo dici potest ubi et custodum diligentia et jocorum præterea et obsoniorum non deerat frequentia. [5]Tenebatur ergo sociorum omnium [6]viæ superstes, [7]nec unquam usque ad obitum relaxatus. Patria lingua facundus, ut sit jocundior nullus; in aliis consiliosus, ut nihil excellentius; militiæ peritus, ut si quis unquam; pro mollitie tamen animi nunquam regendæ reipublicæ idoneus judicatus. Veruntamen quia [8]superius dixi quæcunque noram de Hugone magno, et Blesensi et Flandrensi comitibus, non incongrue (ut opinor) quartum librum hac meta concludam.

Robert duke of Normandy.

A.D. 1106.

Feb. A.D. 1134.

EXPLICIT LIBER QUARTUS MAGISTRI WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM.

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[1] *Nundinans.*] *A. D. E. L.*; nundinaturus, *S.*; nundinatus, *C.*

[2] *Diem mortis.*] *S. D. E.*; hunc diem, *A. L.*

[3] *Tentus est.*] *S. D. E.*; tenetur, *A. L.*

[4] *Passus sit.*] *S. D. E.*; patiatur, *A. L.*

[5] *Tenebatur.*] *S. D. E.*; tenetur, *A. L.*

[6] *Viæ.*] *A. C.D.E.L.*; vitæ, *S.*

[7] *Nec unquam usque ad obitum relaxatus.*] *S. D. E.*; et utrum aliquando sit exiturus, vero vacillante in dubio, *A. L.*—The various readings which the MSS. here exhibit seem to mark the periods when the author composed and amended his history.

[8] *Superius.*] *C. D. E.*; jam superius, *A. S. L.*

PROLOGUS

IN LIBRUM QUINTUM.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS EJUSDEM IN LIBRUM QUINTUM.

ORDINE rerum vocante, tempus Henrici regis ingressi sumus: cujus gesta styli officio posteris tradere, majoris quam a nobis debeat [1]exquiri est operæ; nam et si sola quæ nostras aures attigerunt scripto mandarentur, cujuslibet eloquentissimi nervos fatigare, et grandia possent armaria gravare. Quis ergo conetur omnia illa consiliorum pondera, illa gestorum regalium molimina, enucleatim retexere? altioris sunt ista negotii et otiosioris animi. Vix hæc auderet vel Cicero in prosa, cujus adorat sales tota Latinitas, vel si quis versuum favore Mantuanum lacessit poetam. Adde quod, dum ambiguis relatoribus fidem detraho, homo procul ab aulicis mysteriis, secretus, majora gesta ignorans, paucis manum appono. Quare verendum est, ne, dum literæ distant ab animi voto, minor videatur cujus gesta multa prætereo. Veruntamen hujus culpæ, si culpa dicenda est, bona erit apud illum deprecatio qui meminerit me nec omnia ejus gesta potuisse nosse, nec omnia quæ noveram scriptum iri debuisse: alterum exegerit personæ meæ exilitas, alterum coactura sit lecturorum satietas. Pauca igitur rerum ejus liber hic quintus suo

[1] *Exquiri.*] *D. E.*; omitted in *A. S. C. L.*

vendicabit gremio; cætera proculdubio et seret fama, et victura in posteros feret memoria. Nec vero a proposito priorum quatuor degenerabit; sed quædam quæ hic et alias ejus acciderunt tempore procudet, quæ forsitan vel non scripta, vel multis sunt incognita. Occupabunt itaque ista magnam partem voluminis; præfata venia tam longarum digressionum et in hoc et in aliis.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM

LIBER QUINTUS.

INCIPIT LIBER QUINTUS DE GESTIS HENRICI REGIS.

ENRICUS, junior filius Willelmi magni, [1]natus est in Anglia anno tertio postquam pater eam adierat; infans jam tum omnium votis conspirantibus educatus egregie, quod solus omnium filiorum Willelmi natus esset regie, et ei regnum videretur competere. Itaque tyrocinium rudimentorum in scholis egit [2]literalibus, et [3]librorum mella adeo avidis medullis indidit, ut nulli postea bellorum tumultus, nulli curarum motus, eas excutere illustri animo possent. Quamvis ipse nec multum palam legeret, nec nisi summisse cantitaret; fuerunt tamen (ut vere confirmo) literæ, quamvis tumultuarie libatæ, magna supellex [4]ad regnandi scientiam, juxta [5]illam Platonis sententiam, qua dicit 'Beatam esse rempublicam si vel phi-

Henry the First.

A.D. 1068.

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[1] *Natus est.*] Henry was born in 1068, not in 1070, as stated by Ordericus Vitalis. (Annal. Burton. apud Fell. inter Rer. Anglic. Script. V. p. 246.)

[2] *Literalibus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; liberalibus, *S.*

[3] *Librorum.*] *D. E.*; literarum, *A. S.*; litera, *C* 1. *L.*; literalia, *C* 2.

[4] *Ad regnandi scientiam.*] *S.*; ad regnandum scientiæ, *A. C. D. E. L.*

[5] *Illam.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

losophi regnarent, vel reges philosopharentur.' Philosophia ergo non adeo exiliter informatus, sensim discebat ut successu temporis provinciales mitius contineret, milites nonnisi diligentissime explorata necessitate committere sineret. Itaque pueritiam ad spem regni literis muniebat; subinde, patre quoque audiente, jactitare proverbium solitus, 'Rex illiteratus, asinus coronatus.' Ferunt quinetiam genitorem non prætereuntem, notata morum ejus compositione quibus vivacem prudentiam aleret, ab uno fratrum læsum, et lachrymantem his animasse, 'Ne fleas, fili, quoniam et tu rex eris.'

Henry is knighted by his father, 24th May, A.D. 1086.

§ 391. [1]Vicesimo ergo primo regni paterni anno, ætatis suæ nono decimo, in Pentecoste, apud Westmonasterium sumpsit arma a patre, cum quo tunc Normanniam navigans, non multo post præsens funeri ejus astitit, cæteris fratribus quo quemque spes tulerat dilapsis, ut superior sermo non occuluit. Quapropter paterna benedictione et materna hæreditate, simul et multiplicibus thesauris [2]nixus, supercilium germanorum parum faciebat, utrique vel assistens vel adversans pro merito: inclinatior porro Roberto pro mansuetudine, ejus lenitatem suo rigore satagebat acuere. Contra, ille, noxia facilitate delatoribus credulus, fratrem immeritum injuriis vexabat, quas vel breviter taxare non erit incongruum.

His conduct during his brother's reign.

§ 392. Eo tempore, quo, frementibus adversus Willelmum secundum Angliæ proceribus, Robertus in Normannia ventum [3]prosperum expec-

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[1] *Vicesimo ergo primo . . . anno.*] William the Conqueror was abroad at Pentecost in the twenty-first year of his reign, A.D. 1087. Henry undoubtedly received knighthood in the year 1086, in the twentieth year of his father's reign.

[2] *Nixus.*] *A. S. C. D. E 2. L.*; nexus, *E* 1.

[3] *Prosperum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

tabat ad navigandum, Henricus in Britanniam A.D. 1088.
ejus jussu abscesserat. Tum ille, occasione aucupata, omnem illam pecuniarum vim testamento patris adolescentulo legatam, quæ erat trium millium marcarum, in stipendiarios suos absumpsit. Id Henricus reversus, licet forsitan ægre tulisset, taciturna præteriit industria; enimvero, nunciata pacis compositione in Anglia, deposita militia ferias armis dedere. Comes in sua, junior in ea quæ frater suus dederat vel promiserat, discessit; namque et in acceptum promissa referebat, custodiens turrim Rotomagi in ejus fidelitatem: sed delatione pessimorum cessit in adversum fidelitas, et nulla sua culpa in ipso eodem loco Henricus libere custoditus est, ne servatorum diligentiam effugio luderet. Post medium annum laxatus, fratri Willelmo invitanti serviturum se obtulit; at ille, nihilo modestius ephebum remunerans, plus anno inanibus sponsionibus egentem distulit. Quapropter, Roberto emendationem facti per nuncios promittente, Normanniam venit, amborum fratrum expertus insidias. Nam et rex, pro repulsa iratus, ut retineretur frustra mandarat; et comes, accusatorum lenociniis mutatus, voluntatem verterat, ut blanditiis attrectatum non ita facile dimitteret. Verum ille, Dei providentia et sagaci sua diligentia cuncta evadens pericula, occupatione Abrincarum et quorundam castellorum coegit fratrem libenter paci manum dedere. Nec multo post, Willelmo veniente in Normanniam uti se de fratre Roberto ulcisceretur, comiti obsequelam suam exhibuit, Rotomagi [1] positus. Denique regios eo interdiu venientes, qui dolo civium totam jampridem occupaverant urbem, probe expulit,

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[1] *Positus.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; proventus, *S.*

admonito per nuncios comite ut ille a fronte pro-
A.D. 1090. pelleret quos ipse a tergo urgeret. Unde factum est, ut Conanum quendam, proditionis apud comitem insimulatum, quem ille vinculis irretire volebat, arbitratus nihil calamitosius posse inferri misero quam ut exosum spiritum in ergastulo traheret,—hunc ergo Conanum Henricus suæ curæ servatum iri postulavit. Quo concesso, in superiora Rotomagensis turris [1]duxit; jussoque ut late circumposita diligenter ex arcis ædito specularetur, sua per ironiam omnia futura pronuncians, inopinum ex propugnaculo deturbans in subjectam Sequanam præcipitavit, comitibus qui secum aderant pariter impellentibus: protestatus, Nullam vitæ moram deberi traditori; quoquo modo alieni hominis posse tolerari injurias, illius vero, qui tibi juratus fecerit hominium, nullo modo [2]posse differri supplicium si fuerit probatus perfidiæ. Parum hic labor apud Robertum valuit, virum animi [3]mobilis; qui, statim ad ingratitudinem flexus, bene meritum urbe
A.D. 1091. cedere coegit. Illud fuit tempus quo, [4]ut supra lectum est, apud montem sancti Michaelis ambobus fratribus Henricus pro sui salute, simul et gloria, restitit. Ita, cum utrique germano fuerit fidelis et efficax, illi, nullis adolescentem possessionibus dignati, ad majorem prudentiam ævi processu penuria victualium [5]informabant.

Henry is elected king, A.D. 1100. § 393. Occiso vero rege Willelmo, [6]ut supra dictum est, post justa funeri regio persoluta, in regem electus est, aliquantis tamen ante controversiis inter proceres agitatis atque sopitis; an-

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[1] *Duxit.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; eum duxit, *S.*

[2] *Posse.*] *A. S. C. D. L.*; omitted in *E.*

[3] *Mobilis.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; nobilis, *S.*

[4] *Ut supra lectum est.*] § 308, p. 491.

[5] *Informabant.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; reformabant, *E* 1.

[6] *Ut supra dictum est.*] § 333, p. 509.

nitente maxime comite Warwicensi Henrico, viro integro et sancto, cujus familiari jamdudum usus fuerat contubernio. Itaque, [1]edicto statim per Angliam misso, injustitias a fratre et Rannulfo institutas prohibuit, pensionum et vinculorum gratiam fecit: effœminatos curia propellens, lucernarum usum noctibus in curia restituit, qui fuerat tempore fratris intermissus; [2]antiquarum moderationem legum revocavit in [3]solidum, sacramento suo et omnium procerum, ne luderentur, corroborans. Lætus ergo dies visus est revirescere populis, cum, post tot anxietatum nubila, serenarum promissionum infulgebant lumina. Et ne quid profecto gaudio accumulato abesset, Rannulfo nequitiarum fæce tenebris [4]ergastularibus incluso, propter Anselmum pernicibus nunciis directum. Quapropter, [5]certatim plausu plebeio concrepante, in regem coronatus est Londoniæ nonis Augustis, quarto post obitum fratris die. Hæc eo studiosius celebrabantur, ne mentes procerum electionis quassarentur pœnitudine, quod ferebatur rumor Robertum Normanniæ comitem ex Apulia adventantem jam jamque affore. Nec multo post, suadentibus amicis, ac maxime pontificibus, ut, remota voluptate pellicum, legitimum amplecteretur connubium, die sancti Martini [6]accepit Mathildem filiam Malcolmi regis Scottorum; cujus amori jampridem animum impulerat, parvi pen-

Aug. 5.

11th Nov. A.D. 1100.

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[1] *Edicto ...misso.*] King Henry's charter is to be found in Matthew Paris, and in Text. Roff. p. 51.

[2] *Antiquarum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; aliquarum, *S.*

[3] *Solidum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; solitum, *S.*

[4] *Ergastularibus incluso.*] Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham, was confined in the Tower of London on the 14th Sept. 1100, and escaped 4th Feb. 1101.

[5] *Certatim.*] *S. C. D. E.*; statim, *A. L.*

[6] *Accepit Mathildem filiam Malcolmi regis Scottorum.*] Matilda having taken the veil, though only for a purpose, scruples were raised as to the propriety of her entering the marriage state: a

dens dotales divitias, dummodo diu cupitis potiretur amplexibus. Erat enim illa, licet genere sublimis, utpote regis Edwardi ex fratre Edmundo abneptis, modicæ tamen domina supellectilis, utroque tunc parente pupilla: de qua posterius uberior erit narrandi materia.

Robert duke of Normandy returns from the Crusades.

§ 394. Robertus interea, Normanniam veniens, comitatum suum obsistente nullo recepit: quo audito, omnes pene hujus terræ optimates fidei regi juratæ transfugæ fuere; quidam nullis extantibus causis, quidam levibus occasiunculis emendicatis, quod nollet iis terras quas vellent ultro pro libito eorum impertiri. Soli Robertus filius Haimonis, et Ricardus de Retvers, et Rogerius Bigot, et Robertus comes de Mellento, cum fratre Henrico, justas partes fovebant. Cæterum, omnes vel clam pro Roberto, ut rex fieret, mittere, vel palam contumeliis dominum inurere; [1]Godricum eum, et comparem Godgivam, appellantes. Audiebat hæc ille, et formidabiles cachinnos iram differens ejiciebat; stultitias fatuorum insania objectas artificioso silentio dissolvens, blandus odii dissimulator, sed pro tempore immodicus retributor. Accessit temporum turbini versutia Rannulfi; namque ille, sollicitato per nuncios dapifero suo, funem afferri sibi impetravit: funem minister aquæ bajulus ([2]proh dolus!) amphora immersum detulit; quo ille muro [3]turris demissus, si læsit brachia, si excoriavit

synod was therefore called at Lambeth by Archbishop Anselm, and it was there determined that Matilda, not having voluntarily become a nun, might marry according to the law of God. See Eadmer, pp. 56, 57.

[1] *Godricum eum, et comparem Godgivam.*] 'These appellations seem intended as sneers at the regular life of Henry and his queen. Godric implies God's kingdom, or government.' (Sharpe, 486.)

[2] *Proh dolus!*] *A. D. E. L.*; proh dolor! *S. C.*

[3] *Turris.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; terris, *S.*— Ordericus Vitalis relates the manner of the bishop's flight. (Hist. Eccl. p. 787.)

manus, parum curat populus. Inde Normanniam evadens, comiti jam anhelanti, et in fervorem prælii prono, addidit calcaria ut incunctanter veniret.

He lands at Portsmouth, A.D. 1101.

§ 395. Secundo ergo Henrici anno, mense Augusto, [1]allitans apud Portesmuthe, copias suas in omnem regionem exposuit, effudit, objecit. Nec vero rex segnitiei deditus fuit, sed innumeram e regione manum [2]traxit, dignitatem suam, si necesse foret, asserturus: nam, licet principibus deficientibus, partes ejus solidæ manebant; quas Anselmi archiepiscopi, cum [3]episcopis suis, simul et omnium Anglorum tutabatur favor. Quapropter ipse provincialium fidei gratus, et saluti providus, plerumque cuneos circuiens, docebat quomodo, militum ferociam eludentes, clypeos objectarent et ictus remitterent; quo effecit ut ultroneis votis pugnam deposcerent, in nullo Normannos metuentes. Sed satagentibus sanioris consilii hominibus, qui dicerent pietatis jus violandum si fraterna necessitudo prælio concurreret, paci animos accommodavere; reputantes quod, si alter occumberet, alter infirmior remaneret, cum nullus fratrum præter ipsos superesset. Sed et trium millium marcarum promissio lenem comitis fallebat credulitatem, ut, procinctu soluto, de tanta pecunia menti blandiretur suæ, quam ille posteriori statim anno voluntati reginæ libens, quod illa peteret, condonavit.

Rebellion of Robert de Belesme, A.D. 1102.

§ 396. Posteriori anno rebellavit Robertus de Belesmo, major filiorum Rogerii de Monte Gomerico, obfirmans contra regem castella Brigas

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[1] *Allitans.*] *C. D. E. L.*; applicans, *A. S.*

[2] *Traxit.*] *E.*; contraxit, *A. S. C. D. L.*

[3] *Episcopis.*] *C. D. E.*; coepiscopis, *A. S. L.*

et Arundellum; comportatum eo frumentum ex omni regione Scrobesbiriæ, et quicquid necessarium bellum efflagitat [1]diuturnum: nec minus castellum Scrobesbiriense rebellioni consensit, Wallensibus pro motu fortunæ ad malum pronis. Rex itaque animo [2]ingens, omniaque adversa virtute premens, militia coacta Brigas obsedit, unde jam in Arundellum transierat Robertus, alimentorum copia et militum ferocia satis abundeque munitum locum præsumens; sed paucos post dies oppidani, et formidine conscientiæ et fortitudine militiæ regiæ flexi, se dedidere. Quo audito, ab incepto tumore Arundellum destitit, regali se addicens clientelæ; egregia sane conditione, ut dominus suus integra membrorum salute Normanniam permitteretur abire. Porro Scrobesbirienses per Radulfum tum abbatem Sagii, postea Cantuariæ archiepiscopum, regi misere castelli claves, deditionis præsentis indices, futuræ devotionis obsides. Ita dissensionis incendium, quod putabatur fore magnum, paucissimis diebus in cineres consenuit; et desertorum, semper novis rebus inhiantium, aviditatem coercuit. Robertus, cum fratribus Ernulfo, qui paternum cognomen sortitus fuerat, et Rogerio Pictavensi (quod ex ea regione uxorem acceperat sic dicto), Angliam perpetuo abjuravit; sed vigorem sacramenti temperavit adjectio, nisi regi placito quandoque satisfecisset obsequio.

Troubles in Normandy.

§ 397. Tunc fax bellorum immissa Normanniæ, perfidorum admixtione, quasi rogalibus alimentis animata, convaluit, circumquaque posita corripiens. Est enim Normannia opportuna et patiens malorum nutricula, quamvis non multo

England and Normandy contrasted.

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[1] *Diuturnum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; devectum, *S.*

[2] *Ingens.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; rigens, *S.*

tractu regionum diffusa; itaque diu seditiones intestinas probe tolerat, et pace reddita in fœcundiorem statum mature resurgit, turbatores suos illius provinciæ diffisos cum libuerit in Franciam liberis anfractibus emittens. Contra Anglia nec diu infestos patitur, sed semel intra sinum suum receptos vel dedit, vel extinguit; nec, populatibus attrita, redivivum cito caput attollit. Quocirca Normanniam Belesmitanus veniens, et tunc et deinceps habuit malignitatis suæ complices, et (ne parum videretur) illices. In his erat Willelmus comes Moretolii, filius Roberti, regis patrui. Is semper a puero Henrici gloriæ invidus, tum maxime in adventu Normanni pravum animum extulit: non enim contentus duobus comitatibus, Moretolii in Normannia, Cornugalliæ in Anglia, comitatum Cantiæ, quem Odo patruus habuerat, a rege exigebat; infestus et improbus adeo, ut infami arrogantia se devotaret non induturum chlamydem nisi a patruo (ut dictitabat) sibi refusam consequeretur hæreditatem. Sed tunc quidem, suspensi calliditate responsi, frustratus est rex prudentissimus hominem: discussis vero turbinibus, [3]serenoque pacis reddito, non solum quæ petebat non annuit, verumetiam indebite retenta repetere cœpit; modeste tamen et judiciali placito, ut nihil quod faceret videretur resultare juri et calcitrare ab æquo. Tunc vero A.D. 1104.
Willelmus, sententia judicii expunctus, indignabundus et fremens Normanniam abiit: ibi, præter assultus quos regiis castellis irritus fecerat, in Ricardum quoque comitem Cestrensem, Hugonis filium, debacchatus, nonnulla partibus ejus appendicia invasit, carpsit, abrasit. Erat ille tunc pro ætate parvulus, et regis fidei tutelæque accommodatus.

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[1] *Serenoque pacis reddito.*] *C. D. E. L.*; serenaque pace reddita, *S.*

Henry obtains possession of Normandy, A.D. 1106.

§ 398. Hi ergo duo, factionum capita, rebellionum incentiva, cum aliis quos nominare pudet, patriam populationibus late contristabant. Consumebanturque frequentes, sed cassæ apud comitem querelæ provincialium de violentia clamantium: movebatur his ille; sed rebus suis timens, ne exacerbati ejus interpolarent otium, dissimulabat. At vero rex Henricus, pro fratris infamia, quam cumulabat patriæ miseria, dolorem transeuntem ferre nequibat: crudele et a boni principis officio longe esse permensus, quod impii homines pauperum fortunis ingluviem suam [1]urgebant. Itaque fratrem ad se accitum in Angliam semel blande verbis, post vero in Normanniam veniens non semel dure bellis, admonuit ut comitem, non monachum, ageret; nam et incentori Willelmo omnia quæ habebat in Anglia abstulit, castella ad solum complanavit. Sed cum ad pacem nihil promoveret, diu deliberatione consilii regia sublimitas curis pectus exercuit, utrum fraternæ necessitudinis oblitus patriam discrimini eriperet, an [2]indiscreta pietate fluctuare permitteret: et profecto commune commodum et pietas, privatæ necessitudinis intuitu, terga dedissent, nisi ([3]ut aiunt) Paschalis apostolicus dubitantem ad hoc opus epistolis impelleret; asseverans, facundia qua vigebat, non fore civile bellum, sed præclare

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[1] *Urgebant.*] Compare Malmes. de Gestis Pontific. lib. I. p. 227; edit. Francof. 1601.

[2] *Indiscreta.*] *C. D. E. L.*; indiscretam, *S.*

[3] *Ut aiunt.*] There is no vestige of this exhortation in any letter of Pope Paschal to King Henry now known. Indeed Paschal, writing to Archbishop Anselm, enjoins him to effect a reconciliation between the king and his brother. He writes: 'Significamus dilectioni tuæ, Normannorum comitem questum apud nos esse adversus Anglorum regem, quia et, fracto sacramento quod ei pro eodem regno acquirendo fecerat, regnum invaserit. Et nosti quia eidem comiti debemus auxilium, pro laboribus quos in Asianæ ecclesiæ liberatione laboravit,' &c. (Anselmi Op. nov. edit. p. 382, col. 2.)

patriæ prædicandum emolumentum. Itaque Normanniam veniens brevi totam cepit, vel potius recepit, omnibus ad ejus dominium confluentibus, ut fessæ provinciæ, vigore quo pollebat, consuleret. Non tamen sine sanguine tantam victoriam consummans, multos ex charissimis amisit: inter quos Rogerium de Glocestra, probatum militem, in obsessione Falesii arcubalistæ jactu in capite percussum; præterea [1] Robertum filium Hamonis, qui conto ictus tempora, hebetatusque ingenio, non [2] pauco tempore quasi captus mente supervixit. Merito mulctatum ferunt, quod, ejus liberandi causa, rex Henricus Baiocas civitatem cum principali ecclesia ignibus absumpserit: sed utrique, ut speramus, purgabile fuit; nam et detrimenta ecclesiæ rex mirifice resarcivit, et Robertus monasterium Theochesbiriæ suo favore non facile memoratu quantum exaltavit, ubi et ædificiorum decor, et monachorum charitas, adventantium rapit oculos et allicit animos. Horum dispendium ut fortuna sarciret, summam manum ingruente bello imposuit; venientemque contra se cum non contemnenda manu fratrem, et Willelmum comitem Moretolii, et Robertum Belesmi, ditioni ejus facili opera contradidit. Hoc bellum actum est apud Tenerchebrei, castellum comitis Moritoliensis, [3] Sabbato in sancti Michaelis vigilia. Idem dies ante quadraginta circiter annos fuerat, cum Willelmus Hastingas primus appulit; provido forsitan Dei judicio, ut eo die subderetur Angliæ Normannia, quo ad eam subjugandam olim venerat Normannorum

Battle of Tinchebrai, 28th Sept. A.D. 1106.

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[1] *Robertum filium Hamonis.*] His daughter Mabil became the wife of Robert earl of Gloucester, to whom Malmesbury dedicated this work.

[2] *Pauco.*] *S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; parvo, *E* 1.

[3] *Sabbato.*] Michaelmas-eve in 1106 fell on Friday.

copia. Captus est ibi comes Moretolii, qui eo venerat studiosam sui operam oppidanis pollicitus, simul et injurias suas ultum iri sperans; sed (ut dixi) [1]prensus, squaloris carcerei tota vita accolatum accepit: vivacitate mentis et alacritate juventutis nonnihil laudandus, sed pro perfidia finem asperum emeritus. Et tunc quidem Belesmensis in ipso [2]belli exordio mortem cavit effugio; sed dum postmodum clandestinis
A.D. 1112. factionibus regem irritasset, et [3]ipse captus cæterorum involutus est periculo, ad mortem perpetuo inclusus ergastulo. Vir pro incompositis moribus [4]intolerabilis, et in aliorum delicta inexorabilis; præterea sævitia notabilis, cum in aliis tum in hoc, quod puerulum ex baptismo filiolum, quem in obsidatum acceperat, pro modico delicto patris excæcarit, lumina miselli unguibus nefandis abrumpens: simulationis et argutiarum plenus, frontis sereno et sermonum affabilitate credulos decipiens, gnaros autem malitiæ exterritans, ut nullum esset majus futuræ calamitatis indicium quam prætensæ affabilitatis eloquium.

A.D. 1107. § 399. Ita rex clarus, successibus ovans, regnum regressus est; composita pace in Normannia, qualem nulla ætas meminit, qualem nec ipse pater, magno illo rerum et verborum [5]fastu, un-
King Henry's laws. quam efficere potuit. In cæteris quoque genitoris æmulus, rapinas curialium, furta, stupra,

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[1] *Prensus.*] *A. E. L.*; pressus, *S. C. D.*

[2] *Belli.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[3] *Ipse captus . . . ergastulo.*] Robert de Belesme was seized by order of King Henry in 1112, having come to him in Normandy as ambassador from the king of France to treat of peace. Robert was in the following year sent over to England, and confined in Wareham castle until his death.

[4] *Intolerabilis.*] *A. S. L.*; omitted in *C. D. E.*

[5] *Fastu.*] *S. C. D. E.*; roncho, *A. L.*

[1] edicto compescuit; deprehensis oculos cum [2] testibus evelli præcipiens. Contra trapezetas (quos vulgo monetarios vocant) præcipuam sui diligentiam exhibuit; nullum falsarium, quin pugnum perderet, impune abire permittens, qui fuisset intellectus falsitatis suæ commercio fatuos irrisisse.

His transactions with the Scotch.

§ 400. Scottorum reges lenitate sua palpavit, morem fratris æmulatus: siquidem ille Dunecanum, filium Malcolmi nothum, et militem fecit, et regem Scottorum mortuo patre constituit; sed eo patrui Duvenaldi fraude interemto, Edgarum in regnum promovit, præfato Duvenaldo astutia David junioris et viribus Willelmi extincto. Edgaro fatali sorte occumbente, Alexandrum successorem Henricus affinitate detinuit, data ei in conjugium filia notha; de qua ille viva nec sobolem, quod sciam, tulit, nec ante se mortuam multum suspiravit: defuerat enim fœminæ, ut fertur, quod desideraretur, vel in morum modestia, vel in corporis elegantia. Alexandro majoribus suis apposito, David [3] minor filiorum Malcolmi, quem rex comitem fecerat et connubio insignis fœminæ donaverat, solium Scottorum ascendit: juvenis cæteris curialior, et qui, nostrorum convictu et familiaritate limatus a puero, omnem rubiginem Scotticæ barbariei deterserat; denique regno potitus mox omnes compatriotas triennalium [4] tributorum pensione levavit, qui vellent habitare cultius, amiciri elegantius, pasci accuratius. Neque vero unquam in acta histo-

A.D. 1093. A.D. 1094. A.D. 1099. A.D. 1107. A.D. 1124.

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[1] *Edicto.*] The Laws of Henry the First have lately been reprinted in the 'Ancient Laws and Institutes of England,' under the able editorship of Mr. Thorpe.

[2] *Testibus.*] *C. D. E.*; testiculis, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Minor.*] *C. D. E.*; junior, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Tributorum.*] *A. S. D. E. L.*; cubitorum, *C.*

riarum relatum est tantæ sanctitatis tres fuisse pariter reges et fratres, maternæ pietatis nectar redolentes; namque præter victus parcitatem, eleemosynarum copiam, orationum assiduitatem, ita domesticum regibus vitium evicerunt, ut nunquam feratur in eorum thalamos nisi legitimas uxores isse, nec eorum quenquam pellicatu aliquo pudicitiam contristasse. Solus fuit Edmundus Margaritæ filius a bono degener; qui, Duvenaldi patrui nequitiæ particeps, fraternæ non inscius necis fuerit, pactus scilicet regni dimidium: sed captus, et perpetuis compedibus detentus, ingenue pœnituit; et, ad mortem veniens, cum ipsis vinculis se tumulari mandavit, professus se plexum merito pro fratricidii delicto.

Henry subjugates the Welsh.

§ 401. Wallenses rex Henricus, semper in rebellionem surgentes, crebris expeditionibus in deditionem premebat; consilioque salubri nixus, ut eorum tumorem extenuaret, Flandrenses omnes Angliæ accolas eo traduxit. Plures enim, qui tempore patris pro materna cognatione confluxerant, occultabat Anglia, adeo ut ipsi regno pro multitudine onerosi viderentur; [1]quapropter cum substantiis et necessitudinibus apud Ros, provinciam Walliarum, velut in sentinam congessit, ut et regnum defæcaret, et hostium brutam temeritatem retunderet. Nec eo secius illuc expeditionem pro temporum opportunitate dirigebat; in quarum una, incertum cujus audacia eminus insidianti, arundine impetitus, probe et pulchre evasit, fideliter hamatæ thoracis adjutus beneficio, et simul perfidiam frustrante Dei consilio. Sed nec tunc auctor teli eminuit, nec unquam postea investigari valuit, quamvis ille statim non hæsitasset dicere, sagittam non a quo-

A.D. 1121.

[1] *Quapropter.*] *C. D. E.*; quapropter omnes, *A. S. L.*

libet Wallense, sed a provinciali emissam, 'per mortem Domini nostri,' talia pronuncians: quem morem jurandi, vel iræ nimietas, vel rei serietas, ab ore principis extorquebat; nam et ea hora in proprio solo, non in hostica regione, progrediebatur sensim et caute exercitus, ut nihil minus quam insidias quis opinari possit. Nec tamen, intestini discriminis metu, pedem ab incepto retulit, donec Wallenses, datis obsidibus nobilium suorum filiis, cum aliquanta pecunia et multo peculio, regiæ magnanimitatis motum sedarent.

And the Bretons.

§ 402. Brittones transmarinos, quos adolescens vicinos [1]castellis Danfronto et [2]Sancti Michaelis habuerat, pecuniis ad obsequium transducebat. Est enim illud genus hominum egens in patria, aliasque externo ære laboriosæ vitæ mercatur stipendia: si dederis, nec civilia, sine respectu juris et cognationis, detrectans prælia; sed pro quantitate [3]munerum ad quascunque voles partes obnoxium. Hujus consuetudinis ille non inscius, si quando opus habuisset stipendiariis militibus, multa perdebat in Brittones, fidem perfidæ nationis nummis suis [4]mutuatus.

Robert earl of Flanders.

§ 403. Robertum comitem Flandriæ primis regni sui temporibus offendit hac causa: Baldewinus senior, hujus Roberti avus, Willelmum in Angliam venientem, arguto quo pollebat consilio, et militum additamento, vivaciter juverat. His ille illustres crebro retributiones refuderat, omnibus, ut ferunt, annis [5]trecentas argenti marcas

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[1] *Castellis.*] *C. D. E.*; castellis suis, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Sancti Michaelis.*] *C. D. E.*; monti Sancti Michaelis, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Munerum.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; nummorum, *S.*

[4] *Mutuatus.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; mutuans, *E* 1.

[5] *Trecentas argenti marcas.*] It appears from two charters printed in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. pp. 6, 7, that Henry agreed to pay a pension of four hundred marks annually to Robert earl of Flanders for the service of one thousand knights.

pro fide et affinitate socero annumerans. Ea munificentia, in filio Baldewino non imminuta, hæsit in Roberti Frisonis malitia, quam [1]superior non præteriit sermo. Porro iste Robertus, Frisonis filius, omissum munus a Willelmo secundo non difficulter impetraverat; quod et is cognationem prætenderit, et ille invictum animum in spargenda pecunia haberet. Verum Henricus majori pondere rem ventilans, ut nec indebite [2]adunaret pecunias, nec nisi debite dilapidaret habitas, Roberto ab Ierosolyma reverso, et quasi pro imperio trecentas argenti marcas exigenti, in hanc respondit sententiam: Non solitos reges Angliæ Flandritis vectigal pendere, nec se velle libertatem majorum macula suæ timiditatis fuscare: quapropter, si suo committat arbitrio, libenter se quod opportunitas siverit ut cognato et amico dare; si vero in exactione permanendum putaverit, omnino negare. Hac ille ratione dejectus, animum multo tempore in regem tumuit: sed, parum aut nihil simultatibus adjutus, mansuetudini mentem accommodavit, expertus regem posse flecti precario, non fastu tyrannico. Jam vero Baldewino filio ejus varietas temporum causas irarum in regem dedit: siquidem [3]Willelmum
A.D. 1118. filium Roberti Normanni volens hæreditati intrudere, alienis se sponte negotiis immiscuit, crebroque castella regis in Normannia inopinatis fatigabat assultibus; magnum incommodum, si Fata sivissent, terræ minatus: sed apud [4]Archas

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[1] *Superior.*] See § 257, p. 432.

[2] *Adunaret.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; adamaret, *S.*

[3] *Willelmum filium Roberti Normanni.*] William, surnamed Cliton, son of Robert duke of Normandy and Sibilla de Conversano, succeeded to the earldom of Flanders upon the death of Charles le Bon, A.D. 1127.

[4] *Archas.*] Historians differ both as to the place where Baldwin was wounded, and where he died, and even as to the time of his death; but it seems that he passed the last ten months of his

majori manu militum quam timebat exceptus mortem maturavit, crebris ictibus galea quassata cerebrum violatus. Causam ferunt morbi augmentati, quod ea die allium cum auca præsumpserit, nec nocte venere abstinuerit. Hic intuebuntur posteri eximium regalis pietatis exemplum, quod medicum peritissimum decumbenti miserit; illachrymatus, si credimus, morbo perire, quem pro admiratione fortitudinis salvari maluisset. Successor ejus Karolus nulla molestia vires regis inquietavit; primo fœdere suspenso, mox etiam [1]consummato, amicitiam ejus amplexus. A.D. 1119.

§ 404. Philippus rex Francorum regi nostro nec [2]utilis nec infestus fuit, propterea quod esset ventri magis quam negotiis deditus, nec præterea in castellis ejus collimitaneus; pauca enim, quæ tunc habebat in Normannia, magis Brittanniæ quam Franciæ vicina erant: adde quod ([3]ut su- Philip king of France.

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life in the monastery of St. Bertin, where he was buried. Meyerus (Ann. Fland. lib. IV. ad an. 1119), cited in Bouquet, XIII. 14, writes of this earl: 'Eo tempore, Henricus Anglorum rex fratrem suum Robertum Normanniæ ducem de Terra Sancta revertentem in vincula conjecit, eo quod regnum Angliæ, ut maximus stirpis, quod ille occupaverat, repeteret. Cujus filius Guillelmus exhæredatus ad hunc Balduinum comitem consanguineum suum confugit: quem iste comes nutriens et militaribus armis instruens, cum annum decimum octavum attigisset, contra patruum suum Angliæ regem Henricum eum rebellare admonens, sæpe cum eo Normanniam gravibus incursionibus infestabat. Sic ergo juvenis iste Balduinus, bellis assuetus et frequentibus triumphis decoratus, tantis laudibus effulsit, ut fama virtutis ejus per omnes diffunderetur regiones: cujus sicut virtus supra modum ætatis ejus subitaneis incrementis emicuit, sic occulta Dei dispositione cœptis ejus obviante, diu durare non potuit. Nam cum dictum juvenem Guillelmum in paternam hæreditatem restituere nititur, Normanniamque sæpius infestat, scuto ipsius, ut fertur, ictu cujusdam militis fronti ejus illiso, graviter vulneratur; eoque vulnere tandem vitam cum principatu, nulla superstite prole, amisit, anno sui principatus octavo.'

[1] *Consummato.*] *C. D. E.*; confirmato, *A. S. L.*

[2] *Utilis.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; inutilis, *E* 1.

[3] *Ut superius dixi.*] See § 235, p. 403.

perius dixi) Philippus accedente senio, libidine gravis, [1] comitissæque Andegavensis specie lusus, illicitis ardoribus defœneratus famulabatur. Quocirca ab apostolico excommunicatus, cum in villa qua mansitabat nihil divini servitii fieret, sed, discedente eo, tinnitus signorum undique concreparent, insulsam fatuitatem cachinnis exprimebat; 'Audis,' inquiens, 'bella quomodo nos effugant!' Adeo erat omnibus episcopis provinciæ suæ derisui, ut nullus eos desponsaret [2] præter Willelmum archiepiscopum Rotomagensem; cujus facti temeritatem luit multis annis interdictus, et vix tandem aliquando per Anselmum archiepiscopum apostolicæ communioni redditus. Philippo interea nulla mora insanæ temulentiæ satietatem fecit, nisi quod, in extremo vitæ tactus morbo, [3] monachicum apud Floriacum accepit habitum: pulchrius et fortunatius illa, quod ætate et sanitate integra, nec specie rugata, apud Fontem Evraldi sanctimonialium appetiit velum; nec multo post præsenti vitæ vale fecit, Deo forsitan providente non posse delicatæ mulieris corpus religionis laboribus inservire.

Louis VI. king of France.

§ 405. At verò Lodowicus filius Philippi varium se præstitit, in neutra parte bene constans. Primo enim tempore plurimus in fratrem irarum auctor Henrico ad capiendam Normanniam fuit, corruptus videlicet Anglorum spoliis et multo

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[1] *Comitissæque Andegavensis.*] Bertrade, fourth wife of Foulques IV, earl of Anjou.

[2] *Præter Willelmum archiepiscopum Rotomagensem.*] Ordericus Vitalis attributes this act to Odo bishop of Bayeux; but Pope Urban II, in his epistle to Raynald archbishop of Rheims, ascribes it to Ursio bishop of Senlis.

[3] *Monachicum apud Floriacum accepit habitum.*] Although King Philippe a few years before his death entertained some notion of embracing a monastic life, as is seen in the epistle written to him by Hugh abbot of Cluni, yet it appears that he never carried his design into effect.

regis obryzo. Non quod ille obtulerit, sed quod alter invitaverit, ultro adhortans ne clarissimæ olim patriæ nervos dissimulatione sua succidi sineret. Postea vero simultas inter eos exorta est pro Thetbaldo comite Blesensi, filio Stephani qui apud Ramulam occubuit, quod Thetbaldus susceptus esset Stephano ex Adala filia Willelmi magni. Diu igitur ex parte regis nostri labores viarum consumpserunt nuncii, ut dignaretur Lodowicus satisfactionem Thetbaldi. Ille vero, parvi faciens preces, Thetbaldum ab apostolico [1]devotari fecit quasi arrogantem et Deo rebellem; qui præter austeritatem morum, quæ omnibus videbatur intolerabilis, ferebatur dominum suum [2]privare avitis possessionibus. Itaque [3]diu productis inimicitiis, cum uterque grossum tumeret, nec alter alteri [4]pro persona cederet, Lodowicus Normanniam venit, inflatiori anhelitu late omnia exhauriens. Nunciabantur hæc regi, qui apud Rotomagum se continebat, [5]adeo ut vulgus militum aures ejus infestaret; pateretur repelli Lodowicum, hominem aqualiculi pondere olim lectum foventem, sed nunc pro dissimulatione minis auras onerantem. Ille, paterni memor exempli, fatuitatem Franci patientia extundere, quam viribus repellere, malebat. Quinetiam milites benigne appellando hac ratione mulcebat: Non debere [6]illos mirari si sanguinis eorum prodigus esse caveret, quos sibi fideles non modicis experimentis approbasset. Impium esse, ut, ad regnum sibi parandum, eorum glorietur mortibus,

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[1] *Devotari.*] *A. C. E. L.*; denotari, *S. D.*

[2] *Privare.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; fraudare, *S.*

[3] *Diu.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[4] *Pro.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[5] *Adeo ut.*] *A. D. E* 1.; adeo, *E* 2. *L* 2.; quoad, *S.*; ad, *C.*

[6] *Illos.*] *A. D. E. L.*; eos, *S. C.*

qui vitam suam pro ejus salute ultroneis devoveant certaminibus: illos regni sui nutritos, pietatis alumnos; quapropter boni principis se velle sequi exemplum, ut modestia sua eorum remoretur impetum, quos ita paratos pro se videat ad moriendum. Postremo, cum videret prudentiam suam sinistra interpretatione turbari et ignaviam vocari, in tantum ut Lodowicus prope Rotomagum quatuor milliariis ignes faceret, prædas ageret, majori fortitudine vim animi concussit, et procinctu parato vicit egregie, præteritas dissimulationes feroci puniens victoria. Veruntamen aliquanto post pax parta est; quia et [1]rerum omnium est vicissitudo, et nummi quaslibet injurias levant, ad persuadendum quod intendunt potentes. Quare Willelmus, filius regis nostri, homagium regi Francorum de Normannia fecit, jure legitimo [2]de eo provinciam cogniturus. Illud fuit tempus quo idem puer filiam Fulconis comitis Andegavensis despondit, et accepit; patris prudentia satagente, ut hinc pecunia, hinc affinitate mediante, nihil contra filium turbaretur.

A.D. 1119.

Henry's interview with Pope Calixtus. A.D. 1119.

§ 406. His diebus Calixtus papa, de quo posterius dicam plura, præsentiam suam prope Normanniam exhibuit: [3]cujus colloquio potitus, rex Angliæ Romanos prudentiam Normannorum mirari et prædicare coegit. Namque ille (ut fertur) infesto venerat animo, ut eum asperius conveniret quare fratrem et sancti Sepulchri peregrinum in captione teneret; sed responso principis, quod erat simile veri, et probabilibus argumentis perstrictus, parum contra retulit. Possunt enim

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[1] *Rerum.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *De eo provinciam.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[3] *Cujus colloquio potitus.*] Pope Calixtus met King Henry at Gisors on his return from the council at Rheims, held in Oct. 1119.

communes [1]loci ad quamlibet partem inflecti pro facundia [2]oratoris, præsertim cum non contemnatur eloquentia quam pretiosa condiunt xenia. Et ut nihil cumulatæ pompæ deesset, adolescentulos clarissimi generis, filios comitis de Mellento, ut contra cardinales de dialectica disputarent, subornavit: quorum tortilibus sophismatibus cum [3]vivacitate rationum obsisti nequiret, non puduit cardinales confiteri, majori occiduas plagas florere literarum peritia quam ipsi audissent vel putassent in patria. Itaque hæc collocutio hunc finem emeruit, ut pronunciaret apostolicus nihil Anglorum regis causa justius, prudentia eminentius, facundia uberius.

Account of Robert comte de Meulent.

§ 407. Horum puerorum pater erat comes de Mellento Robertus (ut dixi), filius Rogerii de Bello Monte qui Pratellum cœnobium Normanniæ construxit: homo antiquæ simplicitatis et fidei, qui, crebro a Willelmo primo invitatus ut Angliam veniret, largis ad voluntatem possessionibus munerandus, supersedit; pronuncians, patrum suorum hæreditatem se velle fovere, non transmarinas et indebitas possessiones vel appetere vel invadere. Hic duos filios habuit; Robertum istum, et Henricum. Henricus comes Warwicensis, dulcis et quieti animi vir, congruo suis moribus studio vitam egit et clausit. Alter, astutior et [4]pronioris ad versutiam cordis, præter paternam hæreditatem in Normannia et ingentia prædia in Anglia, castellum, quod matris suæ frater Hugo filius Gualeranni tenuerat, Mellentum nomine, a rege Franciæ nundinatus est pecunia. Qui cum superiorum regum tempore,

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[1] *Loci.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[2] *Oratoris.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; orationis, *S.*

[3] *Vivacitate.*] *C. D. E.*; pro vivacitate, *A. S. L.*

[4] *Pronioris.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; pro moribus, *S.*

spe sensim pullulante, in gloriam procederet, hujus ætate summo provectu effloruit; [1]habebaturque ejus consilium quasi quis divinum consuluisset sacrarium. Jamque non immerito assecutus æstimabatur, quod esset ævi maturus ad consulendum, suasor concordiæ, dissuasor discordiæ, et prorsus ad quod intenderet, pro viribus eloquentiæ, citissimus persuasor. Ingentis in Anglia momenti, ut inveteratum vestiendi vel comedendi exemplo suo inverteret morem. Denique [2]consuetudo semel prandendi in omnium optimatum curiis per eum frequentatur, quam ipse causa bonæ valetudinis acceptam, [3]nunciis a Constantinopolitano imperatore Alexio, suo (ut dixi) cæteris refudit exemplo. Quod tamen magis parcitate dapsilitatis fecisse et docuisse, quam timore cruditatis et indigeriei, immerito culpatur; quia nemo eo, ut fertur, in dapibus aliis sumptuosior, vel sibi moderatior fuit. In placitis propugnator justitiæ, in guerris provisor victoriæ: dominum regem ad severitatem legum custodiendam exacuens, ipse non eas sequens, sed proponens: expers in [4]regem perfidiæ, in cæteros ejus [5]persecutor.

Account of Roger bishop of Salisbury.

§ 408. Habebat præterea rex Henricus episcopum Salesbiriensem Rogerium a secretis, cujus maxime nitebatur consilio, nam et ante reg-

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[1] *Habebaturque.*] *A. C. D. E. L.*; habebatque, *S.*

[2] *Consuetudo semel prandendi.*] This practice is referred to by Henry of Huntingdon (lib. VI. 209), when speaking of Hardacnut, who had four repasts served up every day: 'cum nostri temporis consuetudo sit, causa vel avaritiæ, vel, ut ipsi dicunt, fastidii, principes semel in die tantum suis escas anteponere.'

[3] *Nunciis.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[4] *Regem.*] *E* 1.; rege, *D.*; reges, *A. S. C. E* 2. *L.*

[5] *Persecutor.*] Henry of Huntingdon, in his epistle to Walter (Anglia Sacra, pars II. p. 695,) gives a flattering character of Robert. Ordericus Vitalis places his death on the 1st June, A.D. 1118.

num omnibus suis [1] præfecerat rex; primum cancellarium, mox episcopum constituerat, prudentiam viri expertus. Sollerter administrati episcopatus officium spem infudit quod majori dignus haberetur munere; itaque totius regni moderamen illius delegavit justitiæ, sive ipse adesset Angliæ, sive moraretur Normanniæ. Refugit episcopus tantis se curis involvere, nisi tres archiepiscopi Cantuarienses, Anselmus, Radulfus, Willelmus, et postremo papa, injunxissent ei munus obedientiæ. Sategit ita fieri Henricus, non nescius quod fideliter sua tractaret commoda Rogerius: nec defuit ille spei regiæ; sed tanta integritate, tanta se agebat industria, ut nulla contra eum conflaretur invidia. Denique rex plerumque triennio, nonnunquam quadriennio, et eo amplius, in Normannia moratus, [2] cum in regnum reverteretur, deputabat justitiarii modestiæ quod nihil aut parum inveniebat molestiæ. Inter hæc, ecclesiastica officia non negligere, sed quotidie mane omnia honeste persolvere, ut expeditius et tutius cæteris posset accedere. Pontifex magnanimus, et nullis unquam parcens sumptibus, dum quæ facienda proponeret, ædificia præsertim, consummaret; quod cum alias, tum maxime in Salesbiria [3] et Malmesbiria est videre. Fecit enim ibi ædificia spatio diffusa, numero pecuniarum sumptuosa, specie formosissima; ita juste composito ordine lapidum, ut junctura perstringat intuitum, et totam maceriam unum mentiatur esse saxum. Ecclesiam Salesbiriensem et novam fecit et ornamentis excoluit, ut nulli in Anglia cedat, sed multas præcedat;

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[1] *Præfecerat rex.*] See Guil. Neubrig. I. 6.

[2] *Cum in regnum ... molestiæ.*] *A. C. D. E. G. K. L.*; omitted in *S.*

[3] *Et Malmesbiria.*] *S. D. E.*; omitted in *L 2.*

ipseque non falso possit dicere Deo, 'Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuæ.'

Henry's transactions with Ireland, &c.

§ 409. Hiberniensium regem Murcardum, et successores ejus, quorum nomina fama non extulit, ita devotos habuit noster Henricus, ut nihil nisi quod eum palparet scriberent, nihil nisi quod juberet agerent: quamvis feratur Murcardus, nescio qua de causa, paucis diebus inflatius in Anglos egisse; sed mox, pro interdicto navigio et mercimonio navigantium, tumorem pectoris sedasse. Quanti enim valeret Hibernia si non adnavigarent merces ex Anglia? Ita pro penuria, imo pro inscientia cultorum, jejunum omnium bonorum solum, agrestem et squalidam multitudinem Hibernensium extra urbes producit: Angli vero et Franci, cultiori genere vitæ, urbes nundinarum commercio inhabitant.

Paul earl of Orkney.

Paulus Orcadum comes, quamvis Noricorum regi hæreditario jure subjectus, ita regis amicitias suspiciebat ut crebra ei munuscula missitaret: nam et ille prona voluptate exterarum terrarum miracula inhiabat, leones, leopardos, lynces, camelos, quorum fœtus Anglia est inops, grandi (ut dixi) jucunditate a regibus alienis expostulans; habebatque conseptum quod Wudestoche dicitur, in quo delicias talium rerum confovebat. Posueratque ibi animal quod [1]hystrix vocatur, missum sibi a Willelmo de Monte Pislerio; de quo animali Plinius secundus in octavo Naturalis Historiæ libro, et Isidorus de Etymologiis, memorant, esse animal in Africa, quod Afri ericii genus dicunt, coopertum hispidis setis, quas in canes insectantes naturaliter emittat. [2]Sunt enim setæ (ut vidi) palmo et plus longæ, in utraque summitate acutæ; si-

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[1] *Hystrix.*] MSS. read 'strix.'

[2] *Sunt enim setæ.*] *E* 1.; sunt vero setæ illæ, *E* 2.; sunt vero setæ, *A. C. D. L.*; sunt vero, *S.*

miles pennis aucarum ubi desinunt plumæ, sed paulo plus grossæ; nigro et albo quasi intertinctæ.

§ 410. Illud præter cætera Henricum insigniebat, quod, quamvis pro tumultibus Normannicis sæpe et diu regno suo deesset, ita timore suo rebelles frænabat, ut nihil pacis in Anglia desiderares; quocirca etiam exteræ gentes illuc, velut ad unicum tutæ quietis portum, libenter appellebant. Denique Siwardus rex Noricorum, primo ævi processu fortissimis conferendus, incepto itinere Ierosolymitano, rogataque regis pace, in Anglia tota resedit hyeme; plurimoque per ecclesias auro expenso, mox, ut Favonius ad serenitatem pelagi vernales portas aperuit, naves repetiit; provectusque in altum, [1] Baleares insulas, quæ Majorica et Minorica dicuntur, armis territas, faciliores ad subigendum præfato Willelmo de Monte Pislerio reliquit. Inde pertendit Ierosolymam, navibus omnibus incolumibus præter unam; quæ, dum retinacula a portu solvere tardat, absorpta est immani voragine (quam inter Sequanica et Aquitanica littora esse [2] Paulus historicus Longobardorum asseverat), tanto undarum impetu ut ad triginta milliaria garrulitas discernatur aquarum. Ierosolymam veniens, Tyrum et Sidonem, urbes quas mare allambit, ad Christianitatis gratiam obsedit, effregit, subegit. Mutato itinere Constantinopolim ingres-

Siward king of Norway.

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[1] *Baleares.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; Balearum, *E* 1.

[2] *Paulus historicus Longobardorum.*] Paulus Diaconus, also called Winfrid, was secretary to Desiderius, last of the native princes of Lombardy. Paulus wrote his History of the Lombards, in six books, before the empire by Charlemagne was founded. Sharpe says, 'that Malmesbury here seems to imply that the vessel was lost in the Mediterranean; but if so, he misunderstood Paulus Diaconus, who is speaking of the Race of Alderney.' Vide Paul. Diac. lib. I. c. 6; ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. I.

sus, navem aureis rostratam draconibus fastigio sanctæ Sophiæ pro trophæo affixit. Hominibus suis [1]in eadem urbe catervatim morientibus remedium excogitavit, ut reliqui parcius, et aqua mixtum vinum biberent: [2]ingenii acrimonia, ut, porcino jecore mero injecto, moxque pro asperitate liquoris resoluto, idem in hominibus fieri primo præsagiret; post etiam, quodam defuncto exenterato, visu addisceret. Quare contuitu prudentiæ et fortitudinis, quæ grande quid pollicebantur, imperatore illum retinere tentante, spem ejus, qua jam aurum Noricum devorabat, [3]pulchre cassavit; impetrata ad proximam urbem licentia, cistas thesaurorum, plumbo impletas, et obsignatas, apud eum deponens, quasi citissimi reditus vades. Ita ille illusus est; alter pedes domum contendit.

Recapitulation of Henry's character.

§ 411. Sed enim ut ad Henricum regrediatur oratio. Erat ille in rebus suis providendo efficax, defendendo pertinax: bellorum quatenus posset cum honestate repressor; cum vero decrevisset non pati, impatiendus injuriarum exactor, obvia pericula virtutis umbone decutiens. Odii et amicitiæ in quemlibet tenax; in altero nimio irarum æstui, in altero regiæ magnanimitati, satisfaciens; hostes videlicet ad miseriam deprimens, amicos et clientes ad invidiam efferens: nam et hanc curam vel primam vel maximam boni principis philosophia proponit, [4]ut parcat subjectis, et debellet superbos. Justitiæ rigore inflexibilis, provinciales quiete, proceres dignan-

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[1] *In eadem urbe.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Ingenii acrimonia.*] *C. D. E.*; ingenti ingenii acrimonia, *A. S. L.*

[3] *Pulchre cassavit.*] *A. C. D. E* 2. *L.*; pulchro cassavit, *E* 1.; pulchre cessavit, *S.*

[4] *Ut parcat subjectis, et debellet superbos.*] 'Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.' (Virg. Æn. VI. 853.)

ter continebat; fures et falsarios latentes maxima diligentia perscrutans, inventos puniens; parvarum quoque rerum non negligens. [1]Cum nummos fractos, licet boni argenti, a venditoribus non recipi audisset, omnes vel frangi vel incidi præcepit. Mercatorum falsam ulnam castigavit; brachii sui mensura adhibita, omnibusque per Angliam proposita. [2]Curialibus suis, ubicunque villarum esset, quantum a rusticis gratis accipere, quantum et quoto pretio emere debuissent, edixit; transgressores vel gravi pecuniarum mulcta, vel vitæ dispendio, afficiens. Principio regni, ut terrore exempli reos inureret, ad membrorum detruncationem, post ad pecuniæ solutionem proclivior; pro morum prudentia, ut fere fert natura mortalium, optimatibus venerabilis, provincialibus amabilis habebatur. Quod si qui majorum, jurati sacramenti immemores, a fidei tramite exorbitarent, continuo, et consiliorum efficacia et laborum perseverantia, erroneos revocabat ad lineam; per asperitatem vulnerum detrectantes reducens ad sanitatem animorum. Nec facile quam diuturnos sudores in talibus effuderit enumerem, dum nihil patitur inultum quod a delinquentibus commissum dignitati suæ non esset consentaneum. Pugnarum erat maxima causa Normannia, ut ante dixi, in qua ipse pariter multis annis degens, Angliæ quoque prospiciebat; nullo audente caput erigere dum ille audaciam,

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[1] *Cum nummos fractos . . . omnes vel frangi vel incidi præcepit.*] 'Whilst endeavouring to distinguish good coin from counterfeits, the silver penny was frequently broken, and then refused. Henry's order therefore that all should be broken, enabled any one immediately to ascertain the quality, and at the same time left no pretext for refusing it on account of its being broken money. V. Edmerum, Hist. Novor. p. 94.' (Sharpe, 507.)

[2] *Curialibus suis.*] *L* 1. ends abruptly with these words, the MS. being defective.

ille suspiceret prudentiam. Nec vero propter rebellionem aliquorum procerum unquam suorum appetitus est insidiis, nisi semel: auctor earum fuit quidam cubicularius, plebeii generis patre, sed pro regiorum thesaurorum custodia famosi nominis homine, natus: [1]is deprehensus, et facile confessus, pœnas perfidiæ acriter luit. Præter hoc tota vita securus, animos omnium timori, sermones amori obstrictos habebat.

Henry's person and habits.

§ 412. Statura minimos supergrediens, a maximis vincebatur: crine nigro et juxta frontem [2]profugo, oculis dulce serenis, thoroso pectore, carnoso corpore. Facetiarum pro tempore plenus; nec pro mole negotiorum, cum se communioni dedisset, minus jucundus. Minus pugnacis famæ, Scipionis Africani dictum repræsentabat, 'Imperatorem me mea mater, non bellatorem, peperit.' Quapropter sapientia [3]nulli unquam modernorum regum secundus, et pene dicam omnium antecessorum in Anglia [4]facile primus, libentius bellabat consilio quam gladio: vincebat, si poterat, sanguine nullo; si aliter non poterat, pauco. Omnium tota vita omnino [5]obscœnitatum cupidinearum expers, quoniam (ut a consciis accepimus) non effræni voluptate, sed gignendæ pro-

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[1] *Is deprehensus.*] 'Suger relates that Henry was so terrified by a conspiracy among his chamberlains, that he frequently changed his bed, increased his guards, and caused a shield and a sword to be constantly placed near him at night; and that the person here mentioned, who had been favoured and promoted in an especial manner by the king, was, on his detection, mercifully adjudged to lose only his eyes and his manhood, when he justly deserved hanging. De Vit. Lud. Grossi; Duchesne, IV. 308.' (Sharpe, 508.)

[2] *Profugo.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; profuso, *S.*

[3] *Nulli unquam.*] *S. C. D. E* 2.; nunquam, *E* 1.; nulli, *A.*; non nulli, *L* 2.

[4] *Facile.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[5] *Obscœnitatum cupidinearum expers.*] Compare Malmesbury's character of Henry in this particular with that given of him by Henry of Huntingdon.

lis [1]amore, mulierum gremio infunderetur: nec dignaretur advenæ delectationi præbere assensum, nisi ubi regium semen procedere posset in effectum; effundens naturam ut dominus, non obtemperans libidini ut famulus. Cibis indifferenter utens, magisque explens esuriem, quam multis obsoniis urgens ingluviem; potui nunquam præter sitim indulgens. Continentiæ minimum excessum tum in suis tum in omnibus execrans. Somni gravis, et quem frequens roncatio interrumperet. Facultatis in dicendo magis fortuitæ quam elaboratæ; nec præcipitis, sed maturæ.

His piety.

§ 413. Pietatis in Deum prædicandæ, monasteria in Anglia et Normannia construxit; quibus quia nondum supremam manum imposuit, ego quoque interim judicium meum differrem, nisi me Radingensium fratrum charitas tacere non sineret. Hoc ille cœnobium inter duo flumina Kenetam et Tamensem constituit, loco ubi pene omnium itinerantium ad populosiores urbes Angliæ posset esse diversorium; posuitque ibi monachos Cluniacenses, qui sunt hodie præclarum sanctitatis exemplum, hospitalitatis indefessæ et dulcis indicium: videas ibi quod non alibi, ut plus hospites, totis horis venientes, quam inhabitantes insumant. Præproperum me et adulatorem fortasse quis dixerit, quod nunc primum nascentem religionem tanto efferam præconio, nesciens quid ventura pariat dies; sed ipsi (ut spero) cum Dei gratia enitentur ut in bono durent. Ego non erubesco si sanctis viris blandiar; et bonum quod in me non habeo, in aliis admirer. Investituras ecclesiarum Deo et sancto Petro remisit, post multas controversias inter eum et

[1] *Amore.*] *A. S. C. D. L* 2.; amoris, *E.*

Anselmum archiepiscopum habitas; vix tandem ad consentiendum, pro ingenti Dei gratia, ingloriosa de fratre victoria inflexus. Sed harum causarum tenorem multo verborum circuitu egit dominus [1]Edmerus: nos, pro pleniore notitia, Paschalis sæpe dicti apostolici scripta ad hanc rem pertinentia subnectemus.

Letter from Pope Paschal on investitures.

§ 414. 'Paschalis episcopus Henrico regi salutem. In literis quas nuper ad nos per familiarem tuum, nostræ dilectionis filium, clericum Willelmum transmisisti, et personæ tuæ sospitatem cognovimus, et successus prosperos quos tibi, superatis regni adversariis, benignitas divina concessit: audivimus præterea optatam virilem sobolem ex ingenua te et religiosa conjuge suscepisse. Quod profecto cum nos lætificaverit, oportunum rati sumus nunc tibi præcepta et voluntatem Dei validius inculcare, cum amplioribus beneficiis benignitati ejus te prospicis debitorem. Nos quoque divinis beneficiis benignitatem nostram penes te sociare optamus; sed grave nobis est, quia id a nobis videris expetere [2]quod præstare non possumus. Si enim consentiamus aut patiamur investituras a tua excellentia fieri, et nostrum proculdubio et tuum erit immane periculum. Qua in re contemplari te volumus quid aut non faciendo perdas, aut faciendo conquiras: nos enim in prohibitione hac nihil amplius obedientiæ, nihil liberalitatis, per ecclesias nanciscimur; nec tibi debitæ potestatis aut juris subtrahere quicquam nitimur, nisi ut erga te Dei ira minuatur, et sic tibi prospera cuncta contingant. Ait enim Dominus, "Honorificantes me honorificabo; qui autem contemnunt me erunt igno-

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[1] *Edmerus.*] See Eadmeri Hist. Novorum, edit. Seld. Lond. 1623.

[2] *Quod.*] *C. D. E.*; quod omnino, *A. S. L* 2.

biles." Dices itaque "Mei hoc juris est." Non utique: non est imperatorium, non regium, sed divinum; solius illius est qui dixit "Ego sum ostium." Unde pro ipso te rogo, cujus hoc munus est, ut reddas hoc ipsi; ipsi dimittas, cujus amori etiam quæ tua sunt debes. Nos autem cur tuæ obniteremur voluntati, cur obsisteremus gratiæ; nisi Dei, in hujus negotii consensu, sciremus nos voluntati obviare, gratiam amittere? Cur tibi quicquam negaremus, quod cuiquam esset mortalium concedendum, cum beneficia de te ampliora sumpserimus? Prospice (fili charissime) utrum decus an dedecus tibi sit, quod sapientissimus ac religiosissimus Gallicanorum episcoporum Anselmus propter hoc tuo lateri adhærere, tuo veretur in regno consistere. Qui tanta de te bona hactenus audierant, quid de te sentient? quid loquentur, cum hoc fuerit in regionibus divulgatum? Ipsi qui coram te tuos excessus extollunt, cum præsentia tua caruerint, hoc profecto validius infamabunt. Redi ergo (charissime fili) ad cor tuum propter misericordiam Dei et propter amorem Unigeniti deprecamur: revoca pastorem tuum, revoca patrem tuum; et si quid, quod non opinamur, gravius adversus te gesserit, si investituras aversatus fueris, nos juxta voluntatem tuam, quantum cum Deo possumus, moderabimur: tu tamen talis repulsæ infamiam a persona tua et regno removeas. Hæc si feceris, et si gravia quælibet a nobis petieris, quæ cum Deo præberi facultas sit, profecto consequeris, et pro te Dominum ipso adjuvante exorare curabimus; et de peccatis tam tibi quam conjugi tuæ, sanctorum apostolorum meritis, indulgentiam et absolutionem faciemus. Filium autem tuum, quem ex spectabili et gloriosa conjuge suscepisti, quem (ut audivimus) egregii patris Willelmi nomine

nominasti, tanta tecum imminentia confovebimus, ut qui te vel illum læserit Romanam ecclesiam videatur læsisse. Datum Lateranis, nono kalendas [1] Decembris.'

Pope Paschal to Anselm.

§ 415. 'Paschalis Anselmo. Suavissimas dilectionis tuæ accepimus literas, charitatis calamo scriptas. In his reverentiam devotionis tuæ complectimur; et perpendentes fidei tuæ robur, et piæ sollicitudinis instantiam, exultamus, quia, gratia Dei tibi præstante auxilium, te nec promissa sustollunt, nec minæ concutiunt. Dolemus autem quia, cum fratres nostros episcopos, legatos regis Anglorum, benigne susceperimus, quæ nec diximus iis, nec cogitavimus, redeuntes ad propria retulerunt. Audivimus enim eos dixisse, quia, si rex in aliis bene ageret, nos investituras ecclesiarum nec prohibere, nec factas excommunicare; et quod ideo nolebamus chartæ committere, ne sub occasione ea cæteri principes in nos inclamarent. Unde Jesum, qui corda et renes scrutatur, in animam nostram testem invocamus, si, ex quo hujus sanctæ sedis curam suscepimus gerere, hoc immane scelus vel descendit in mentem.' Et infra. 'Si ergo virgam pastoralitatis signum, si annulum signaculum fidei, tradit laica manus, quid in ecclesia pontifices agunt? Episcopos autem qui veritatem in mendacium commutarunt, ipsa veritate, quæ Deus est, in medium introducta, a beati Petri gratia et a nostra societate secernimus donec Romanæ ecclesiæ satisfaciant. Quicunque vero intra prædictas inducias [2] investituras consecrationum ac-

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[1] *Decembris.*] See the letter in Eadmer, p. 74.

[2] *Investituras consecrationum.*] All the MSS. read so. The letter printed in Eadmer, p. 72, reads rightly 'investituram vel consecrationem.'

ceperunt, a consortio nostro et ecclesiæ alienos [1]habemus.'

Pope Paschal to Anselm.

§ 416. 'Paschalis Anselmo. Quod Anglici regis cor ad apostolicæ sedis obedientiam omnipotentis Dei dignatio inclinavit, eidem miserationum Domino gratias agimus, in cujus manu corda regum versantur. Hoc nimirum tuæ charitatis gratia, tuarumque orationum instantia, factum credimus, ut in hac parte populum illum, cui tua sollicitudo præsidet, miseratio superna respiceret. Quod autem et regi, et his qui obnoxii videntur, adeo condescendimus, eo affectu et compassione factum noveris, ut eos qui jacebant erigere valeamus: te autem (in Christo venerabilis et charissime frater) ab illa prohibitione sive (ut tu credis) excommunicatione absolvimus, quam ab antecessore nostro sanctæ memoriæ Urbano papa adversus investituras [2]ac hominia factam intelligis. Tu vero eos qui aut investituras accepere, aut investitos benedixere, aut hominia fecere, cum ea satisfactione quam tibi per communes legatos Willelmum ac Baldewinum, viros fideles et veridicos, significamus, Domino cooperante suscipito, et eos vice nostræ auctoritatis absolvito; quos vel ipse benedicas, vel a quibus volueris benedici [3]præcipias, nisi in iis aliud forte reperias propter quod a sacratis honoribus sint repellendi. Si qui vero deinceps præter investituras ecclesiarum prælationes assumpserint, etiamsi regi hominia fecerint, nequaquam ob hoc a benedictionis munere arceantur, donec [4]omnipotentis Dei

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[1] *Habemus.*] See this letter in Eadmer, p. 71, et seq.

[2] *Ac.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; aut, *S.*

[3] *Præcipias.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; percipias, *S.*

[4] *Omnipotentis Dei gratia.*] *C. D. E.*; per omnipotentis Dei gratiam, *A. S. L* 2.

Pope Paschal to Anselm.

gratia ad hoc omittendum cor regium tuæ prædicationis imbribus molliatur. Præterea super episcopis qui falsum (ut nosti) a nobis rumorem retulerunt, cor nostrum commotum est vehementius, quia non solum nos læserunt, sed multorum simplicium animas deceperunt, et regem adversus charitatem sedis apostolicæ impulerunt; unde et inultum eorum flagitium, Domino cooperante, non patimur: sed quia filii nostri regis instantia pro iis nos pulsat attentius, etiam ipsis communionis tuæ participium non negabis. Sane regem et conjugem, et proceres illos qui pro hoc negotio cum rege ex præcepto nostro laboraverunt, quorum nomina ex supradicti Willelmi suggestione cognosces, juxta sponsionem nostram a peccatis et pœnitentiis absolves. Rotomagensis episcopi causam tuæ deliberationi committimus, et quod ei indulseris [1]indulgemus.'

Anselm recalled.

The controversy about investitures determined.

§ 417. Hæc Paschalis summus papa, pro ecclesiarum Dei libertate, sollicitus agebat. Fuerunt autem episcopi quos mendacii arguit, Girardus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, et Herbertus Norwicensis; quorum errata reprehenderunt veraciores legati, Willelmus postea Exoniensis episcopus, et Baldewinus Beccensis monachus. Eratque tunc Anselmus archiepiscopus [2]iterum tempore istius regis Lugduni exul, apud Hugonem ejusdem civitatis archiepiscopum, quando epistola prima, quam apposui, emissa est; quia nec ipse ullo desiderio veniendi tenebatur, nec rex animositatem suam pro copia susurronum sedari patiebatur. Diu ergo et revocare illum, et monitionibus apostolicis obsecundare, distulit;

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[1] *Indulgemus.*] See this letter in Eadmer, p. 87.

[2] *Iterum . . . Lugduni exul.*] Anselm had been recalled on the king's accession, but afterwards quitted the kingdom again.

non elationis ambitu, sed procerum, et maxime comitis de Mellento instinctu, qui, in hoc negotio magis antiqua consuetudine quam recti tenore rationem reverberans, allegabat multum regiæ majestati diminui, si, omittens morem antecessorum, non investiret electum per baculum et annulum. Veruntamen rex, diligentius inspecto quid vivida epistolarum ratio, quid divinorum munerum in se ubertim confluens admoneret largitio, investituram annuli et baculi indulsit in perpetuum; retento [1]tantum electionis et regalium privilegio. Coacto ergo apud Londoniam magno episcoporum et procerum abbatumque concilio, multa ecclesiasticarum et secularium rerum ordinata negotia, decisa litigia. Nec multo post, uno die quinque sunt ordinati episcopi in Cantia ab Anselmo archiepiscopo: Willelmus ad Wintoniam, Rogerius ad Salesbiriam, Willelmus ad Exoniam, Rainaldus ad Herefordum, Urbanus ad Glamorgan. Itaque controversia frequentibus dissensionibus agitata, plurimo Anselmi ad Romam itu et reditu ventilata, laudabilem finem accepit.

Account of Queen Matilda.

§ 418. Uxor [2]regis ex antiquá et illustri regum stirpe descendit Matildis, filia regis Scottorum (ut prædixi), a teneris annis inter sanctimoniales apud Wiltoniam et Rumesium educata, literis quoque fœmineum pectus exercuit. Unde ut ignobiles nuptias respueret, plusquam semel a patre oblatas, peplum [3]sacratæ professionis index gestavit: quapropter, cum rex [4]suscipere vellet eam thalamo, [5]res in disceptationem venit;

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[1] *Tantum.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; tamen, *S.*

[2] *Regis.*] *A. S. C. E* 2.; ejus, *D.*; regi, *E* 1. *L* 2.

[3] *Sacratæ.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; sanctæ, *S.*

[4] *Suscipere vellet.*] *A. D. E. L* 2.; susciperet, *S. C.*

[5] *Res in disceptationem venit.*] See Eadmer, Hist. Nov. pp. 56, 57.

nec nisi legitimis productis testibus, qui eam jurarent sine professione causa procorum velum gessisse, archiepiscopus adduci potuit ad consentiendum. Hæc igitur duobus partubus, altero alterius sexus, contenta, in posterum et parere et parturire destitit: æquanimiterque ferebat, rege alias intento, ipsa curiæ valedicere, Westmonasterio multis annis morata. Nec tamen quicquam ei regalis magnificentiæ deerat; sed indefessa frequentia, undæ salutantium, et totis apportantium temporibus, accipiebantur et vomebantur superbis ædibus: hoc regis jubebat liberalitas, hoc ipsius gratia et dulcis attrahebat benignitas. Sanctitudinis egregiæ, non usquequaque despicabilis formæ, maternæ pietatis æmula, nihil sinistrum quantum ad se moribus admittens; præter regium cubile pudoris integra, nulla etiam suspicione læsa. Cilicio sub regio cultu convoluta, nudipes diebus Quadragesimæ terebat ecclesiarum limina: nec horrebat pedes lavare morbidorum, ulcera sanie distillantia contrectare; postremo longa manibus oscula protelare, mensam apponere. Erat ei in audiendo servitio Dei voluptas unica, [1]ideoque in clericos bene melodos inconsiderate [2]provida; blande quoscunque alloqui, multa largiri, plura polliceri. Inde, liberalitate ipsius per orbem sata, turmatim huc adventabant scholastici tum cantibus tum versibus famosi; felicemque se putabat qui carminis novitate aures mulceret dominæ. Nec in his solum expensas conferebat, sed etiam omni generi hominum, præsertim advenarum; qui, muneribus acceptis, famam ejus longe per terras venditarent. Est enim cupiditas gloriæ ita in-

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[1] *Ideoque.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; ideo, *E* 1.

[2] *Provida.*] *C. D. E.*; prodiga, *A. S. L* 2.

nata mentibus hominum, ut vix aliquis, bonæ conscientiæ pretiosis contentus fructibus, si quid bene fecerit, non dulce habeat efferri in vulgus: unde aiunt, et constat dominæ esse surreptum, ut extraneos quos posset præmiis deliniret; cæteros promissis, aliquando efficacibus, aliquando et sæpius inanibus, suspenderet. Eo effectum est ut prodige donantium non effugeret vitium, multimodas colonis suis deferens calumnias, inferens injurias, auferens substantias; quo bonæ largitricis nacta famam, suorum parvi pensaret contumeliam. Sed hæc qui recte judicare volet, consiliis ministrorum imputabit; qui, more harpyarum, quicquid poterant corripere unguibus, vel infodiebant marsupiis vel insumebant conviviis: quorum fœculentis susurris aures oppleta, nævum honestissimæ menti contraxit: de reliquo factis omnibus approbanda et sancta. Inter hæc erepta est patriæ, magno provincialium damno, suo nullo; nam et funus nobiliter curatum apud Westmonasterium, quietem accepit, et spiritus se cœlum incolere non frivolis signis ostendit. [1]Obiit, regno post septemdecim annos et [2]sex menses libenter relicto; fatum parentum experta, qui pene omnes virente potissimum ævo excessere mundo. Successit thoro ejus, sed non ita cito, [3]Adala filia ducis de Lovanio, quod est castellum caput Lotharingiæ.

1st May, A.D. 1118.

A.D. 1121.

§ 419. Filium habuit rex Henricus ex Matilde, nomine Willelmum, dulci spe et ingenti cura [4]in successionem educatum et provectum;

Prince William.

[1] *Obiit.*] Matilda died on the 1st of May, A.D. 1118.

[2] *Sex.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; septem, *S.*

[3] *Adala.*] Henry married Adala, daughter of Godfrey comte de Louvain, in Feb. 1121.

[4] *In successionem educatum.*] Bromton (col. 1013, X. Script.) ascribes to Malmesbury words which are nowhere to be found in this author. 'Willelmus Malmesbiriensis dicit, quod ille Willelmus regis primogenitus palam Anglis

nam et ei, vix dum duodecim annorum esset, omnes liberi homines Angliæ et Normanniæ, cujuscunque ordinis et dignitatis, cujuscunque domini fideles, manibus et sacramento se dedere coacti sunt. Filiam quoque Fulconis comitis Andegavensis vix nubilem ipse etiam impubis [1]despondit et accepit, dato sibi a socero comitatu Cenomannico pro munere sponsalicio: quin et Ierosolymam Fulco ire contendens, comitatum commendavit regi suum, si [2]viveret; futurum profecto generi, si non rediret. Plures ergo provinciæ spectabant nutum pueri, putabaturque regis Edwardi vaticinium in eo complendum; ferebaturque spes Angliæ, [3]modo arboris succisa, in illo juvenculo iterum floribus pubescere, fructus protrudere, et ideo finem malorum sperari posse. Deo aliter visum; hujuscemodi enim opinionem tulerunt auræ, quod eum proxima dies urgebat fato satisfacere. Enimvero socero tunc annitente, simulque Thetbaldo filio Stephani et Adalæ amitæ, Lodowicus rex Franciæ Normanniam
A.D. 1119. concessit puero, ut facto sibi hominio possideret eam jure legitimo: ordinabat hæc et efficiebat prudentissimi patris prudentia, ut hominium, quod ipse pro culmine imperii fastidiret facere, filius delicatus, et qui putabatur viam seculi ingressurus, non recusaret. His agitandis et placita concordia componendis quatuor annorum tempus rex impendit, in Normannia toto hoc tempore moratus. Veruntamen tam splendidæ et excogitatæ pacis serenum, tam omnium spes

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fuerat comminatus, quod, si aliquando super eos regnaret, faceret eos ad aratrum trahere quasi boves: sed spe sua choruscabili Dei vindicta cum aliis deperiit.'

[1] *Despondit.*] The nuptials of Prince William with Matilda, daughter of the earl of Anjou, were celebrated in June 1119, before the council of Rheims.

[2] *Viveret.*] *A. C. D. E.*; veniret, *S. L* 2.

[3] *Modo arboris succisa.*] See § 226, p. 381.

in speculam erectas, confudit humanæ sortis varietas. Namque indicto in Angliam reditu, rex sub ipso [1] crepusculo septimo kalendas Decembris apud Barbelflet naves solvit; eumque, qui impleverat carbasa, ventus feliciter regno et amplæ fortunæ invexit. At vero adolescentulus, jam septendecim annorum et paulo plus, cui nihil deliciarum præter nomen regis pro paterna indulgentia deesset, aliam sibi navem parari præcepit, omnibus pene adolescentulis procerum filiis, quasi pro colludio ætatis puerilis, eo accurrentibus; quin et remiges immodice mero ingurgitati, voluptate nautica quam potus ministrabat, mature illos qui præcesserant post tergum relinquendos clamitabant. Erat enim navis optima, tabulatis novis et clavis recenter compacta. Itaque cæca jam nocte, juventus sapientiæ indiga, simulque potu obruta, navem a littore impellunt. Volat illa pennata pernicior arundine; et, crispantia maris terga radens, imprudentia ebriorum impegit in scopulum non longe a littore supra pelagus extantem. Consurgunt ergo miseri, et magno clamore ferratos contos expediunt, diu certantes ut navem a rupe propellerent; sed obsistebat fortuna, omnes eorum conatus in irritum deducens. Itaque et remi in saxum [2] obnixi crepuere, concussaque prora pependit. Jamque alios undis exponebat, alios ingressa per rimas aqua enecabat, cum ejecta scapha filius regis excipitur; salvarique potuisset ad littus regressus, nisi soror ejus notha, comitissa Perticæ, in majori nave cum morte luctans, fœmineo ululatu fratris opem implorasset, ne tam impie se relinqueret. Ille, misericordia infractus, lembum ca-

Nov. 25, A.D. 1120.

[1] *Crepusculo.*] *C. D. E. L 2.*; noctis crepusculo, *A. S.*

[2] *Obnixi . . . pependit.*] 'Obnixi crepuere, illisaque prora pependit.' (Virg. Æn. v. 206.)

rinæ applicari jussit, ut sororem exciperet; mortem misellus pro clementiæ teneritudine indeptus: continuo enim multitudine insilientium scapha victa subsedit, omnesque pariter fundo involvit. Evasit unus et ille agrestis, qui, tota nocte malo supernatans, mane totius tragœdiæ actum expressit. Nulla unquam fuit navis Angliæ tantæ miseriæ, nulla toti orbi tam patulæ famæ. Periit ibi cum Willelmo alter filius regis Ricardus, quem ante regnum ex provinciali fœmina susceperat, juvenis magnanimus et patri pro obsequio acceptus; Ricardus comes Cestriæ, et frater ejus Otuelus, nutricius et magister filii regis; filia regis, comitissa Perticæ; et neptis ejus, soror Thetbaldi, comitissa Cestriæ: præterea quisquis erat in curia lectissimus miles vel capellanus, et optimatum filii ad militiam provehendi; [1]accurrerant enim undique (ut dixi), non leve gloriæ suæ numeraturi commodum si filio regis vel deferrent ludicrum vel conferrent obsequium. Accumulavitque calamitatem difficultas inveniendorum cadaverum, quia dispersis per littora quæsitoribus nullum facile repertum est; sed ierunt tam delicata corpora æquoreis crudelia pabula monstris. Juvenculi ergo morte cognita, res mirum in modum mutatæ. Parens enim cœlibatui renunciavit, cui post mortem Matildis studuerat, futuros hæredes ex nova conjuge jamjamque operiens. Socer, ex Ierosolymis domum reversus, partibus Willelmi filii Roberti
A.D. 1123. Normanni comitis improbus astitit, [2]tradens ei alteram filiam nuptum, et Cenomannicum comi-

[1]*Accurrerant.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; accurrerunt, *E* 1.

[2] *Tradens ei alteram filiam nuptum.*] The marriage of William, son of the duke of Normandy, with Sibilla, in 1123, was dissolved, at the instance of King Henry, in the following year by the pope's legate.

tatum: irarum stimulos in regem acuebat dos filiæ, post mortem filii in Anglia retenta.

Princess Matilda.

§ 420. [1] Filiam Matildem, ex Matilde susceptam, dedit rex Henricus Henrico imperatori Alemanniæ, filio Henrici de quo tertius liber memoriam fecit. Fuit hic Henricus quintus ejus nominis apud Teutonicos imperator: qui licet pro contumeliis apostolicæ sedis patri graviter succensuisset, ipse tamen ejusdem sententiæ sequax, et propugnator suo tempore fuit infestus; namque cum Urbano papæ Paschalis successisset, vir nullo virtutis genere carens, rursus quæstio de investituris ecclesiarum, rursus bella, rursus lites agitari, neutris partibus loco cedentibus. Imperator omnes episcopos et abbates regni sui quod citra montes est fautores habebat; quia Karolus magnus, pro contundenda gentium illarum ferocia, omnes pene terras ecclesiis contulerat: consiliosissime perpendens, nolle sacri ordinis homines tam facile quam laicos fidelitatem domini rejicere; præterea, si laici rebellarent, illos posse et excommunicationis auctoritate et potentiæ severitate compescere. Papa ultramontanas ecclesias suæ rationi subjecerat; parumque suscipiebant urbes Italiæ Henrici dominium, servitio se putantes exutas post Conradi fratris ejus interitum, qui, a patre relictus Longobardiæ in regem, apud Aretium obierat diem: at vero Henricus, antiquis Cæsaribus in nullo virtute dejectior, post pacatum regnum Teutonicum præsumebat animo Italicum, rebellionem urbium subjugaturus, quæstionemque de investitura suo libito [2] recisurus. Sed iter illud ad Romam,

Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

A.D. 1111.

[1] *Filiam Matildem, . . . Henrico imperatori Alemanniæ.*] Matilda was betrothed to the emperor Henry V. in 1109, but was not married to him until the 7th Jan. 1114.

[2] *Recisurus.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; decisurus, *S.*

Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

magnis exercitationibus pectorum, magnis angoribus corporum, consummatum, David Scottus Bancornensis episcopus exposuit; magis in regis gratiam quam historicum deceret [1]acclinis: denique et inauditam violentiam, quod apostolicum cepit, quamvis libere custodierit, laudi ducit, ab exemplo quod Jacob, angelum violenter tenens, benedictionem ab eo extorserit. Præter hæc, laborat asserere dictum apostoli, '[2]Nemo militans Deo, implicat se negotiis secularibus,' non adversari cupiditatibus pontificum per laicos investitorum, quia non sit seculare negotium si clericus laico fecerit hominium: quæ quantum sint frivola, cujuslibet dijudicabit prudentia. Ego interim, ne bonum virum verbo videar premere, statuo indulgendum, quia non historiam sed panegyricum scripsit. Nunc vero privilegium et conventionem, violenta trium septimanarum captione a papa extorta, veraciter inseram; et qualiter non multo post religiosiori consilio enervata sunt, subjiciam.

Treaty between Pope Paschal and the emperor, 8th April, A.D. 1111.

§ 421. 'Dominus papa Paschalis non inquietabit dominum regem, nec ejus imperium vel regnum, de investitura episcopatuum et abbatiarum, neque de injuria sibi illata et suis, in persona et bonis; neque aliquod malum reddet sibi vel alicui personæ pro hac causa: et penitus in personam regis Henrici nunquam anathema ponet; nec remanebit in domino papa quin coronet eum, sicut in ordine continetur; et regnum et imperium, officii sui auxilio, eum tenere adjuvabit pro posse suo. Et hæc adimplebit dominus papa sine fraude et malo ingenio.' Hæc sunt nomina

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[1] *Acclinis.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; acclivus, *S.*

[2] *Nemo . . . secularibus.*] 2 Tim. II. 4.

[1]illorum episcoporum et cardinalium qui, præcepto domini papæ Paschalis, privilegium et amicitiam domino Henrico imperatori sacramento confirmaverunt: Petrus Portuensis episcopus, Centius Sabinensis episcopus, Robertus cardinalis sancti Eusebii, Bonefacius cardinalis sancti Marci, Anastasius cardinalis sancti Clementis, Gregorius cardinalis apostolorum Petri et Pauli, item Gregorius cardinalis sancti Chrisogoni, Johannes cardinalis sanctæ Potentianæ, Risus cardinalis sancti Laurentii, Reinerus cardinalis sanctorum Marcellini et Petri, Vitalis cardinalis sanctæ Balbinæ, Teuzo cardinalis sancti Marci, Thetbaldus cardinalis Johannis et Pauli, Johannes decanus [2]in Schola Græca, Leo decanus sancti Vitalis, Albo decanus Sergii et Bachi.

Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

§ 422. Ipse etiam rex hoc sacramentum fecit: 'Ego Henricus rex liberos dimittam, quarta vel quinta feria proxima, et dominum papam, et episcopos et cardinales, et omnes captivos et obsides qui pro eo vel cum eo capti sunt, et secure perduci faciam intra portas Transtiberinæ civitatis; [3]nec ulterius capiam, aut capi permittam, eos qui in fidelitate domini papæ Paschalis permanent: et [4]populo Romano et Transtiberinæ civitati pacem et securitatem servabo, tam per me quam per meos, in personis, qui pacem mihi servaverint. Dominum papam fideliter adjuvabo ut papatum suum quiete et secure teneat. Patrimonia et possessiones Romanæ ecclesiæ quæ abstuli restituam, et cuncta quæ habere debet more an-

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[1] *Illorum.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *In Schola Græca.*] The church of S. Maria in Scuola Greca is so called from a tradition that St. Augustine, before his conversion, there taught rhetoric. (Lumisden, 318.)

[3] *Nec ulterius . . . civitati.*] *S. C. D. E.*; omitted in *A. L* 2.

[4] *Populo Romano.*] *S.*; populi Romani, *C. D. E.*

Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

tecessorum suorum recuperare et tenere adjuvabo, bona fide, sine fraude et malo ingenio: et domino papæ Paschali obediam, salvo honore regni et imperii, sicut catholici imperatores catholicis pontificibus Romanis.' Et isti sunt juratores ex parte ipsius regis: Fridericus Coloniensis archiepiscopus, Godebardus Tridentinus episcopus, Bruno Spirensis episcopus, Berengarius comes, Albertus cancellarius, Herimannus comes, Fridericus comes palatinus, Bonefacius marchio, Albertus comes de Blandriaco, Fridericus comes, Godefricus comes, Warnerius marchio.

Account of the consecration of the emperor Henry V. 13th April, A.D. 1111.

§ 423. Hac conventione expleta, et prædictorum episcoporum et cardinalium sacramento confirmata, osculo utrinque dato, dominus papa quarto idus Aprilis, Dominica Quasi modo geniti, missam celebravit; in qua, post communionem suam et ministrorum altaris, imperatori corpus et sanguinem [1]Domini dedit in hæc verba: 'Hoc Dominicum corpus, quod sacrosancta tenet ecclesia, natum ex Maria virgine, elevatum in cruce pro redemptione humani generis, damus tibi (fili charissime) in remissionem peccatorum tuorum, et in conservationem confirmandæ pacis et veræ amicitiæ inter me et te, et regnum et sacerdotium.' Altero vero die apostolicus et rex [2]ad columnas quæ sunt in foro convenerunt; dispositis præsidiis loricatorum ubicunque videbatur opus esse, ne impediretur regis consecratio. Et in Argentea Porta receptus est rex ab episcopis, et cardinalibus, et toto clero Romano; et cœpta oratione quæ in ordine continetur ab Ostiensi episcopo, quoniam Albanus deerat, a quo debu-

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[1] *Domini.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Ad columnas.*] Supposed to be the remains of the temple of Jupiter Stator.

isset dici si adesset, ad mediam rotam ductus est; et ibi recepit secundam orationem a Portuensi episcopo, sicut præcipit Romanus ordo. Deinde duxerunt eum cum letaniis usque ad confessionem Apostolorum; [1] et ibi unxit eum Hostiensis episcopus inter scapulas et in brachio dextro. Post hæc a domino apostolico ad altare eorundem apostolorum deductus; et ibidem, imposita sibi corona ab ipso apostolico, in imperatorem est consecratus. Post impositam coronam missa de Resurrectione Domini est celebrata; in qua ante communionem dominus [2] apostolicus privilegium imperatori propria manu dedit, in quo sibi et regno suo quod hic scriptum est concessit, et in eodem loco sub anathemate confirmavit.

Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

§ 424. 'Paschalis episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio, et per Dei omnipotentis gratiam Romanorum imperatori augusto, Henrico, salutes et apostolicam benedictionem. Regnum vestrum sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cohærere divina dispositio constituit; prædecessores siquidem vestri, probitatis et prudentiæ amplioris gratia, Romanæ urbis coronam et imperium consecuti sunt: ad cujus videlicet coronæ et imperii dignitatem, tuam quoque personam (fili charissime Henrice), per nostri sacerdotii ministerium, majestas divina provexit. [3] Illam igitur dignitatis prærogativam, quam prædecessores nostri vestris prædecessoribus catholicis imperatoribus concesserunt, et privilegiorum paginis confirmaverunt, nos quoque tuæ dilectioni

Paschal's grant.

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[1] *Et ibi unxit eum ... deductus.*] *A. D. E. G. K. L 2.*; omitted in *S. C.*

[2] *Apostolicus.*] *A. C. E.*; papa, *S. D. L 2.*

[3] *Illam igitur dignitatis prærogativam, quam.*] *A. D. E. L 2.*; illud igitur dignitatis privilegium, quod, *S. C.*

Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

concedimus, et præsentis privilegii pagina confirmamus, ut regni tui episcopis vel abbatibus, libere, præter violentiam vel symoniam electis, investituram virgæ et annuli conferas; post investionem vero canonice consecrationem accipiant ab episcopo ad quem pertinuerit. Si quis autem a clero vel populo, præter assensum tuum, electus fuerit, nisi a te investiatur, a nemine consecretur; exceptis nimirum illis qui vel in archiepiscoporum vel in Romani pontificis solent dispositione consistere. Sane archiepiscopi vel episcopi libertatem habeant a te investitos episcopos vel abbates canonice consecrandi: prædecessores enim vestri ecclesias regni sui tantis regalium suorum beneficiis ampliarunt, ut regnum ipsum [1]maxime episcoporum vel abbatum præsidiis oporteat communiri, et populares dissensiones, quæ in electis omnibus sæpe contingunt, regali oporteat majestate compesci. Quamobrem prudentiæ tuæ et potestati cura debet sollicitius imminere, ut Romanæ ecclesiæ magnitudo, et cæterarum salus, tuis, Domino præstante, beneficiis et servitiis conservetur. Si qua [2]ergo ecclesiastica vel secularis persona, hanc nostræ concessionis paginam sciens, contra eam temerario ausu venire tentaverit, anathematis vinculo, nisi resipuerit, innodetur, honorisque ac dignitatis suæ periculum patiatur; observantes autem hæc misericordia divina custodiat, et personam potestatemque tuam ad honorem suum et gloriam feliciter imperare concedat.'

§ 425. Peracto itaque toto ipsius consecrationis officio, apostolicus et imperator, complexis invicem dextris, iverunt cum celebri pompa ad

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[1] *Maxime.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Ergo.*] *E* 1.; igitur, *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.

cameram quæ est ante confessionem sancti Gregorii, ut ibi deponeret apostolicus sua sacerdotalia, imperator autem sua regalia. Imperatori autem exeunti de camera, et suis regalibus exuto, occurrerunt Romani patricii cum aureo circulo, quem imposuerunt imperatori in capite, et per eum dederunt sibi summum patriciatum Romanæ urbis, communi consensu omnium et volenti animo.

Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

§ 426. Omnem hanc ambitionem privilegiorum et consecrationis, verbo de scriptis præfati David transtuli, quæ ille (ut dixi) pronius quam deberet ad gratiam regis inflectit. Sequenti vero anno congregatum est concilium Romæ, non tam præcipiente quam connivente papa, et privilegium illud irritum factum est. Auctores fuere hujusce mutationis archiepiscopus [1] Viennensis, qui postea sedem apostolicam rexit, et episcopus Engolismensis, Girardus nomine, qui coepiscopos ad hæc exinanienda irritabant. Ejus ergo concilii actio hæc est.

A.D. 1112.

§ 427. Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo duodecimo, indictione quinta, anno [2] pontificatus domini papæ Paschalis secundi tertiodecimo, mense Martio, quintodecimo kalendas Aprilis, celebratum est concilium Romæ Lateranis in [3] basilica Constantiniana. In qua cum dominus papa Paschalis resedisset, cum archiepiscopis, et episcopis, et cardinalibus, et varia multitudine clericorum et laicorum, ultima die concilii, facta coram omnibus professione catholicæ fidei, ne quis de fide ipsius dubitaret, dixit:

Lateran council II. 18 March, A.D. 1112.

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[1] *Viennensis.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L* 2.; Engolismensis, *S.* (var. lect.) — Afterwards Pope Calixtus II.

[2] *Pontificatus.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; omitted in *S.*

[3] *Basilica Constantiniana.*] The church built by Constantine the Great.

Contest of Emp Hen. V. with the Papal see.

'Amplector omnem divinam scripturam Veteris ac Novi Testamenti, legem a Moyse scriptam et a sanctis prophetis: amplector quatuor evangelia, septem canonicas epistolas, et epistolas gloriosi doctoris beati Pauli apostoli, sanctos canones apostolorum, quatuor concilia universalia sicut quatuor evangelia, Nicenum, Ephesinum, Constantinopolitanum, Chalcedonense; præterea Antiochenum concilium, et decreta sanctorum patrum Romanorum pontificum, et præcipue decreta domini mei [1]papæ Gregorii septimi, et beatæ memoriæ papæ Urbani. Quæ ipsi laudaverunt, laudo; quæ tenuerunt, teneo; quæ confirmaverunt, confirmo; quæ damnaverunt, damno; quæ repulerunt, repello; quæ interdixerunt, interdico; quæ prohibuerunt, prohibeo; in omnibus et per omnia in his semper perseverabo.' Quibus expletis, surrexit pro omnibus Girardus Engolismensis episcopus, legatus in Aquitania; et communi assensu domini papæ Paschalis, totiusque concilii, legit hanc scripturam.

Paschal's grant annulled.

§ 428. 'Privilegium illud, quod non est privilegium, sed [2]vere dici debet [3]pravilegium, pro liberatione captivorum et ecclesiæ, a domino papa Paschali per violentiam regis Henrici extortum, nos omnes, in hoc sancto concilio cum domino papa congregati, canonica censura et ecclesiastica auctoritate judicio Sancti Spiritus damnamus, et irritum esse judicamus, atque omnino quassamus, et, ne quid auctoritatis et efficaciæ habeat, penitus excommunicamus. Et hoc ideo damnatum est, quia in eo [4]pravilegio continetur quod electus canonice a clero et populo a nemine

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[1] *Papæ.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Vere.*] *A. S. C. D. E.*; jure, *L* 2.

[3] *Pravilegium.*] *C. D. E. L* 2.; privilegium, *A. S.*

[4] *Pravilegio.*] *C. E. L* 2.; privilegio, *A. S. D.*

consecretur nisi prius a rege investiatur; quod est contra Spiritum Sanctum et canonicam institutionem.' Perlecta vero hac charta, acclamatum ab omnibus et universo concilio, 'Amen, Amen! fiat, fiat!'

Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

§ 429. Archiepiscopi, qui cum suis suffraganeis interfuerunt, hi sunt: Johannes patriarcha Veneticus, [1]Semies Capuanus, Landulfus Beneventanus, Amalfitanus, Regitanus, Hydrontinus, Brundisinus, Capsanus, Gyrontinus; et Græci, Rosanus, [2]et archiepiscopus sanctæ Severinæ. Episcopi vero: Centius Sabinensis, Petrus Portuensis, Leo Hostiensis, Cono Prænestinus, Girardus Engolismensis, Galo Leonensis legatus pro Bituricensi, et Viennensis archiepiscopus, Rogerius Vulturnensis, Gaufridus Senensis, Rollandus Populonensis, Gregorius Terracinensis, [3]Willelmus Troianus, Willelmus Siracusanus legatus pro omnibus Siculis; et alii fere centum episcopi. Siwinus et Johannes Tusculanus episcopus, cum essent Romæ, illa die concilio non interfuerunt; qui postea, lecta damnatione privilegii, consenserunt et laudaverunt.

Names of the ecclesiastics present at the council.

§ 430. Ferebantur ista per orbem, nec dissimulabat omnis Gallia imperatorem execrari, ecclesiastici zeli [4]vigore in eum intentato. His commotus Romam [5]septimodecimo anno Paschalis papæ contendit, acrius in illum ulturus; sed [6]is felici transitu mundanas effugerat ærumnas, ridebatque in requie positus ex alto contumacis Cæ-

The emperor proceeds to Rome.

A.D. 1117.

A.D. 1118.

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[1] *Semies.*] *C. D. E.*; Sennes, *A. S. L* 2.

[2] *Et.*] *A. C. E. L* 2.; omitted in *S. D.*

[3] *Willelmus Troianus.*] *A. L* 2.; Turianus, *S.*; omitted in *C. D. E.*

[4] *Vigore.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1. which reads 'rigore' in the margin.

[5] *Septimodecimo.*] More correctly *octavodecimo*, as the emperor went before Easter in the year 1117.

[6] *Is.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; hic, *S.* —Paschal died in January 1118.

Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

saris minas. Cujus morte accepta, alacrius imperator celerabat viam, ut Johanne [1] Gaitano, superioris papæ cancellario, qui jam electus et Gelasius dictus fuerat, ejecto, [2] Mauricium Bracarensem episcopum, cognomento Burdinum, intruderet. Sed hæc epistola Gelasii certius proponet.

Epistle of Pope Gelasius II. 16 Jan. A.D. 1119.

§ 431. 'Gelasius, servus servorum Dei, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, clericis, principibus, et cæteris per Galliam fidelibus, salutem. Quia vos Romanæ ecclesiæ membra estis, quæ in ea nuper acta sunt dilectioni vestræ significare curamus. Siquidem post electionem nostram dominus imperator, furtive et inopinata velocitate Romam veniens, nos egredi compulit. Pacem postea et minis et terroribus postulavit, dicens, Quæ posset se facturum, nisi nos ei juramento pacis certitudinem faceremus: ad quæ nos ista respondimus, "De controversia quæ inter ecclesiam et regnum est, vel conventioni vel justitiæ libenter acquiescimus loco et tempore competenti, videlicet Mediolani vel Cremonæ in proxima beati Lucæ festivitate, fratrum nostrorum judicio, qui a Deo sunt judices constituti in ecclesia, et sine quibus hæc causa tractari non potest. Et quoniam dominus imperator a nobis securitatem quærit, nos verbo et scripto eam promittimus, nisi ipse interim impediat. Alias enim securitatem facere, nec honestas ecclesiæ nec consuetudo est." Ille statim die post electionem nostram [3] quadragesimo quarto Bracarensem episcopum, anno præterito a domino [4] præ-

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[1] *Gaitano.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; Gritano, *S.*

[2] *Mauricium Bracarensem episcopum.*] Maurice Bourdin, archbishop of Brague, was elected pope by the influence of the emperor Henry V. on the 9th of March 1118, and took the name of Gregory VIII.

[3] *Quadragesimo quarto.*] *A. S. C. D. E.*; quadragesimo tertio, *L* 2.

[4] *Prædecessore.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2.; præcessore, *E* 1. *L* 2.

decessore nostro Paschali papa in concilio Beneventi excommunicatum, in matris ecclesiæ [1]invasionem ingessit; qui etiam, cum per nostras olim manus pallium accepisset, eidem domino nostro, et catholicis successoribus, quorum primus ego sum, fidelitatem juravit. In hoc autem tanto facinore nullum de Romanis dominus imperator (Deo gratias!) socium habuit; sed Wibertini soli, Romanus de sancto Marcello, Centius qui dicebatur sancti Chrisogoni, Teuzo qui multo per Daciam debacchatus est tempore, tam infamem gloriam celebrarunt. Vestræ igitur experientiæ, literarum præsentium perceptione, mandamus ut, super his per Dei gratiam communi deliberatione tractantes, ad matris ecclesiæ ultionem, communibus præstante Deo auxiliis, sicut oportere cognoscitis, accingamini. Data Gaitæ, septimodecimo kalendas Februarii.' Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

§ 432. Expulsus autem Gelasius, Salerni navibus conscensis, inde venit Genuam; indeque itinere pedestri Cluniacum contendens, ibidem [2]obiit. Tunc, id est, anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo centesimo nonodecimo, cardinales qui cum Gelasio venerant, simulque omnis ecclesia Cisalpina, Guidonem archiepiscopum Viennensem in papam grandi paratu levantes, Calixtum vocarunt, religionis et efficaciæ ipsius [3]contuitu; sperantes se per illius potentiam, quod esset in auxiliando facultatis maximæ, imperatoris viribus obniti posse. Nec ille credulos spei effectu exinaniens, mox concilio Remis celebrato investitos vel investiendos a laicis ab ecclesiis removit; pariter et imperatorem, nisi resipisce- Calixtus II. elected pope. A.D. 1119.

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[1] *Invasionem.*] *A. D. E. L* 2.; gremium, *S.*; omitted in *C.*

[2] *Obiit.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; obiit diem, *E* 1. — Gelasius II. died at Cluni, 29th Jan. 1119.

[3] *Contuitu.*] *C. D. E.*; intuitu, *A. S. L* 2.

Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

ret, involvens. Ita tempore aliquanto in inferioribus plagis moratus, ut partes suas augeret, Romam, compositis in Gallia rebus, venit, libenterque a civibus (nam jam imperator discesserat) receptus est. Tum Burdinus, in medio relictus, Sutrium effugit, multis peregrinorum calamitatibus papatum suum fovere meditatus; sed, quo modo inde sit ejectus, sequenti epistola cognosces.

Epistle of Calixtus II.

§ 433. 'Calixtus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis fratribus et filiis, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, et cæteris tam clericis quam laicis, beati Petri fidelibus, per Gallias constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quia dereliquit populus legem Domini, et in judiciis ejus non ambulat, visitat Dominus virga iniquitates eorum et in verberibus peccata eorum: paternæ tamen conservans viscera pietatis, de sua confidentes misericordia non relinquit. Diu siquidem, peccatis exigentibus, per illud Teutonicorum regis idolum, Burdinum videlicet, fideles ecclesiæ conturbati sunt; et alii quidem capti, alii usque ad mortem carceris maceratione afflicti sunt. Nuper autem, festis Paschalibus celebratis, cum peregrinorum et pauperum clamores ferre penitus non possemus, cum ecclesiæ fidelibus ab urbe digressi sumus, et tamdiu Sutrium obsedimus, donec divina potentia et supradictum ecclesiæ inimicum Burdinum, (qui diabolo nidum ibidem fecerat,) et locum ipsum, omnino in nostram tradidit potestatem. Rogamus itaque charitatem vestram ut pro tantis beneficiis una nobiscum Regi regum gratias referatis, et in catholicæ ecclesiæ obedientia et servitio constantissime maneatis, retributionem debitam in præsenti et futuro ab omnipotente Domino per ejus gratiam recepturi. Rogamus

etiam ut has literas alter alteri præsentari, omni remota negligentia, faciatis. Data Sutrii, quinto kalendas Maii.'

Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

§ 434. Urbana omnino et excogitata facetia, ut eum, quem oderat, regis Teutonici vocaret idolum; quod ille Mauritii peritiam, tum in literis tum in civilibus negotiis, magni pensaret. Erat [1]is, ut dixi, Bracarensis [2]archiepiscopus, quæ est civitas Hispaniæ; quem multum quislibet revereri, et pene adorare, pro viva magnæ industriæ specie debuisset, nisi tam famoso facinore enitescere maluisset. Nec enim sanctissimam sedem nummis nundinari dubitasset, si tam desperatus inveniretur venditor quam paratus erat emptor. Tum autem captus, et monachus factus, in Caveam ([3]monasterium enim ita vocant) directus est.

Maurice Bourdin captured.

§ 435. Processit ulterius in augendo bono laudabilis papæ magnificentia, ut illam effrænem et ingenitam Romanorum cupiditatem cohiberet. Nullæ ipsius tempore viantibus circa Romam insidiæ, nullæ urbem ingressis injuriæ. Oblationes apud sanctum Petrum (quas pro petulantia proque libidine potentes diripiebant, anteriores apostolicos, qui vel mutire auderent, indignis afficientes contumeliis,) Calixtus revocavit ad medium, scilicet ad apostolicæ sedis rectoris publicum usum. Nec quicquam in ejus pectore pecuniarum vel habendarum ambitus, vel habitarum amor, operari bono abhorrens potuit: adeo ut Anglos peregrinos magis ad sanctum [4]David

State of the church of Rome.

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[1] *Is.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; hic, *S.*

[2] *Archiepiscopus.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; episcopus, *S.*

[3] *Monasterium enim ita vocant.*] *E* 1.; monasterium ita vocatum, *D.*; monasterium ita vocant, *A. S. C. E* 2. *L* 2. — A monastery near Salerno was called 'The Den.' Here were kept such as from their conduct had become either dangerous or scandalous. See Orderic. p. 870.

[4] *David.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; dictum, *S.*

Contest of Emp. Hen. V. with the Papal see.

quam Romam pergere admoneret, pro viæ longitudine; ad illum locum bis euntibus idem benedictionis refundendum commodum, quod haberent qui semel Romam irent. Quid quod illam inveteratam investituræ controversiam inter regnum et sacerdotium, quæ jam plus quam quinquaginta annis turbas fecerat, adeo ut, aliquo hæresis fautore morbo vel morte succiso, illico quasi hydræ capita plura pullularent, ipse sua industria abrasit, decidit, [1]delevit; Teutonicæ animositatis colla vigore securis apostolicæ decutiens. [2]Quod et ejus et apostolici professiones mundo his dictis ostendent.

Epistle of Calixtus to the emperor Henry V.

§ 436. 'Ego Calixtus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, tibi dilecto filio Henrico, Dei gratia Romanorum [3]imperatori, concedo electiones episcoporum et abbatum Teutonici regni qui ad regnum pertinent in præsentia tua fieri, absque symonia et absque ulla violentia; ut si qua inter partes discordia emerserit, metropolitani vel provincialium consilio vel judicio, saniori parti assensum et auxilium præbeas. Electus autem regalia a te recipiat, et quæ ex his jure tibi debet faciat: ex aliis vero partibus imperii consecratus infra sex menses regalia a te per sceptrum recipiat, et quæ ex his jure tibi debet faciat; exceptis omnibus quæ ad Romanam ecclesiam pertinere noscuntur. De quibus vero mihi querimoniam feceris et auxilium postulaveris, secundum officii mei debitum auxilium tibi præstabo. Do tibi veram pacem, et omnibus qui in tua parte sunt, vel fuerunt tempore hujus discordiæ. Vale!'

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[1] *Delevit.*] *C. D. E.*; delevit, evellit, *A.*; delevit vel evellit, *S. L* 2.

[2] *Quod . . . ostendent.*] *A. S. C. D. E. L* 2.; Quod et ejus et apostolici — in Dei fervet obsequio, *F.*; thus omitting all the intervening sections as far as 'Nam præter cæterarum illecebrarum abdicationem,' § 440.

[3] *Imperatori.*] *C. D. E.*; imperatori augusto, *A. S. L* 2.

§ 437. 'In nomine sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis. Ego Henricus, Dei gratia Romanorum imperator augustus, pro amore Dei, et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, et domini Calixti papæ, et pro remedio animæ meæ, dimitto Deo, et sanctis Dei apostolis Petro et Paulo, sanctæque catholicæ ecclesiæ, omnem investituram per annulum et baculum; et concedo in omnibus ecclesiis, quæ in regno vel imperio meo sunt, canonicam fieri electionem et liberam consecrationem. Possessiones et regalia beati Petri, quæ a principio hujus discordiæ usque ad hodiernum diem, sive tempore patris mei, sive etiam meo, ablata sunt, quæ habeo, eidem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ restituo; quæ non habeo, ut restituantur fideliter juvabo. Possessiones etiam omnium aliarum ecclesiarum, et principum, et omnium aliorum tam laicorum quam clericorum, quæ in guerra ista amissæ sunt, consilio principum vel justitia, quas habeo reddam; quas non habeo, fideliter ut reddantur juvabo. Et do veram pacem domino papæ Calixto, et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, et omnibus qui in parte ipsius sunt vel fuerunt; et in quibus sancta Romana ecclesia auxilium postulaverit, fideliter juvabo; et de quibus mihi querimoniam fecerit, debitam sibi faciam justitiam.' Hæc omnia acta sunt consensu et consilio principum quorum nomina subscripta sunt: Albertus archiepiscopus Moguntiæ, Fredericus Coloniensis archiepiscopus, Ratisbonensis episcopus, Babenbergensis episcopus, Bruno Spirensis, Augustensis, Trajectensis, Constantiensis, abbas Foldensis, Heremannus dux, Fredericus dux, Bonefacius marchio, Thetbaldus marchio, Ernulfus comes palatinus, Otbertus comes palatinus, Berengarius comes.

The emperor's epistle to Calixtus.

§ 438. Sedato itaque tam veterno morbo, qui

The emperor subdues Italy.

ecclesiæ statum conturbaverat, magnum gaudium quisquis Christiane sapuit, accepit, quod is imperator, qui proxima fortitudinis gloria acriter Karoli magni invaderet vestigia, etiam a devotione ipsius in Deum non degeneraret; qui, præter Teutonici regni nobiliter sopitas rebelliones, etiam Italicum ita subegit ut nullus adeo. Ter enim in decennio Italiam ingressus urbium tumorem compescuit; primo adventu Novariam, Placentiam, Aretium, secundo et tertio Cremonam et Mantuam, incendio exterminans: sed et Ravennæ motum paucorum obsidione dierum lenivit; namque Pisani et Papienses, cum Mediolanensibus, amicitiam ejus quam vim experiri malebant. Huic ([1]ut ante fatus sum) filia regis Angliæ nupta exhibebat patrem fortitudine, matrem religione; contendebat in ea pietas industriæ, nec quod magis probares discerneres facile.

Account of William VII. earl of Poitiers.

§ 439. Erat tunc Willelmus comes Pictavorum fatuus et lubricus; qui, [2]postquam de Ierosolyma (ut superiori libro lectum est) rediit, ita omne vitiorum volutabrum premebat quasi crederet omnia fortuitu agi, non providentia regi. Nugas porro suas, falsa quadam venustate condiens, ad facetias revocabat, audientium rictus cachinno distendens. Denique apud castellum quoddam, [3]Niort, habitacula quædam, quasi monasteriola, construens, abbatiam pellicum ibi se positurum delirabat; nuncupatim illam et illam, quæcunque famosioris prostibuli esset, abbatissam vel priorem, [4]cæterasve officiales instituturum canti-

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[1] *Ut ante fatus sum.*] See § 420, p. 655.

[2] *Postquam.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; priusquam, *S.*

[3] *Niort.*] *L* 2.; Niorth, *A.*; Ivor, *S.*; Nior, *C. D. E.*; Mort, *S.* (var. lect.)

[4] *Cæterasve.*] *C.D.E.*; cæteras vero, *A. L* 2.; cætera vero, *S.*

tans. Legitima quoque uxore depulsa, [1] vicecomitis cujusdam conjugem surripuit, quam adeo ardebat ut clypeo suo simulachrum mulierculæ insereret; perinde dictitans se illam velle ferre in prælio, sicut illa portabat eum in triclinio. Unde increpitus et excommunicatus a Girardo Engolismorum episcopo, [2] jussusque illicitam venerem abjicere, 'Antea,' inquit, 'crispabis pectine refugum a fronte capillum quam ego vicecomitissæ indicam repudium;' cavillatus in virum, cujus pertenuis cæsaries pectinem non desideraret. Nec minus, cum [3] Petrus præclaræ sanctitatis Pictavorum episcopus eum liberius argueret, et detrectantem palam excommunicare A.D. 1114. inciperet, ille, præcipiti furore percitus, crinem antistitis involat, strictumque mucronem vibrans, 'Jam,' inquit, 'morieris, nisi me absolveris.' Tum vero præsul, timore simulato, inducias petens loquendi, quod reliquum fuerat excommunicationis fidenter peroravit; ita comitem [4] a Christianitate suspendens, ut nec cum aliquo convivari nec etiam loqui auderet, nisi mature resipisceret. Ita officio suo, ut sibi videbatur, peracto, martyriique trophæum sitiens, collum protendit; 'Feri!' inquiens, 'feri!' At Willelmus, refractior, consuetum leporem intulit ut diceret, 'Tantum certe te odio, ut nec meo te digner odio, nec cœlum unquam intrabis meæ manus ministerio.' Veruntamen post modicum, viperio [5] meretriculæ infectus sibilo, incesti dissuasorem detrusit exilio; ubi beato fine conclusus, frequentibus et

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[1] *Vicecomitis cujusdam.*] Maubergeon, wife of the vicomte de Chatelleraut.

[2] *Jussusque.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; jussus, *E* 1.

[3] *Petrus.*] Peter II. bishop of Poitiers died on the 4th of April 1115, at Chauny. (Gall. Christ. II. col. 1120.)

[4] *A Christianitate.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[5] *Meretriculæ.*] *S. C. D. E.*; mulierculæ, *A. L* 2.

magnis miraculis innuit mundo quam gloriose vivat in cœlo. Quibus auditis, comes dicacitate insolenti non abstinuit; professus palam, pœnitere se quod non ei jamdudum mortem accelerasset, ut ipsi anima sancta grates haberet potissimum, cujus furore cœleste mercatus esset commodum. Vitam Petri et mortem versus isti commendant. De vivo dictum est:

A.D. 1115.

VERSUS DE PETRO EPISCOPO PICTAVORUM.

Verses commendatory of Peter bishop of Poitiers.

'Corpus—opes—studium—mores, cibus asper—egenus—
Lectio—probra, domat—carpit—alit—fugiunt.
Virtutes—culpas—fructum, colit—amputat—auget.
Jus—litem—pacem, protegit—odit—amat.
Fert misero—tribuit peccanti—servat amico,
Auxilium—veniam—continuamque fidem.
Mente Maria vacat, sed in actum Martha laborat;
Est intenta gregi Martha, Maria Deo:
Sic apud hunc regnat Deus intra, proximus extra;
Hic desiderio, proximus obsequio.
Diligit ille Rachel, nec Leam ferre recusat,
Uxoremque novus duxit utramque Jacob:
Hujus amat vultum, juvat hujus carpere fructum,
Cum sit pulchra Rachel, fertiliorque Lea.'

De mortuo dictum est:

VERSUS DE EODEM PETRO MORTUO.

'Exutus rebus, intentus, pulsus ab urbe,
Præsul pauperiem, vincla, fugamque tulit.
Nunc dives—liber—stabilis, sua præmia—Christum—
Astra, capit—sequitur—possidet iste Petrus.

Vitam religio, mentem discretio, famam
Lux operum, studium lectio, verba modum,
Judicium jus, justitiam rigor, ora venustas,
Ornabant, pietas viscera, virga manum.
Promovit—privavit eum—profugumque recepit,
Papa—comes—Christus, ordine—sede—polo.'

DE AUCTORIBUS MONASTERIORUM FONTIS EBRALDI ET TIRUNENSIS.

His contemporaries.

§ 440. Hujus Petri fuerunt contemporanei, et in religione socii, [1] Robertus de Arbreisel et [2] Bernardus abbas Tirunensis; quorum primus omnium hujus temporis sermocinatorum famosissimus et profusissimus. Tantum non spumea sed mellea viguit eloquentia, ut hominibus certatim opes congerentibus, illud egregium sanctimonialium monasterium apud Fontem Ebraldi construeret; in quo, tota seculi voluptate castrata, fœminarum Deo devotarum quanta nusquam multitudo in Dei fervet obsequio: nam præter cæterarum illecebrarum abdicationem, quantulum illud est, quod in nullo loco loquuntur nisi in capitulo; proposita a magistro perennis taciturnitatis regula, quia semel laxato silentio fœminæ pronæ sunt ad mussitandum frivola. Alter, famosus paupertatis amator, in saltuosum et desertum locum, relicto amplissimarum divitiarum cœnobio, cum paucis concessit; ibique, quia lucerna sub modio latere non potuit, undatim multis confluentibus monasterium fecit, magis insigne religione monachorum et numero, quam fulgore pecuniarum et cumulo.

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[1] *Robertus de Arbreisel.*] He founded the monastery of Font-Evrault in 1099, and died A.D. 1117.

[2] *Bernardus.*] Bernard founded the abbey of Tiron in 1109, and died in 1116.

DE SERLONE ABBATE GLOECESTRÆ.

Serlo abbot of Gloucester.

§ 441. Et, ne Anglia expers boni putetur, quis possit præterire Serlonem abbatem Gloecestrensem, qui locum illum ex humili et pene nullo ad gloriosum provectum extulit? Nota est omnibus Anglis Gloecestrensis discreta religio, quam infirmus possit suspicere, nec possit fortis contemnere. Hoc illis signifer Serlo intulit, ut ne quid nimis. Quamvis ut erat bonis humilis, ita superbis minax ac terribilis. Ad quod firmandum versus de eo Godefridi prioris adducam in medium.

VERSUS DE EODEM MORTUO.

'Ecclesiæ murus cecidit, Serlone cadente:
Virtutis gladius, buccina justitiæ,
Vera loquens, et non vanis sermonibus utens,
Et, quos corripuit, principibus placuit.
Judicium præceps, contrarius ordinis error,
Et levitas morum, non placuere sibi.
Tertius a Jano mensis, lux tertia mensis,
Cum nece suppressum vita levavit eum.'

DE LANZONE PRIORE SANCTI PANCRATII.

Lanzo prior of Lewes.

§ 442. Quis Lanzonem taceat, qui ea ætate nullo inferius sanctitate floruit, monachus Cluniacensis, et prior [1]sancti Pancratii in Anglia? qui probitate sua ita locum illum reverentiæ monachilis gratia nobilitavit, ut unicum bonitatis pro vero asseratur esse domicilium. De cujus vita quia quicquid dixero infra illius merita esse denuncio, solum illius obitum, verbis quibus scriptum inveni, apponam, ut liquido pateat quam gloriose vixerit qui tam gratiose obiit.

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[1] *Sancti Pancratii in Anglia.*] At Lewes in Sussex.

DE MORTE EJUSDEM LANZONIS.

§ 443. 'Pius Dominus, qui flagellat omnem filium quem recipit, qui justos suæ socios passionis simul et consolationis fore promittit, tam acerbo languore dominum Lanzonem triduo passionem suam prævenire permisit, ut si aliquis ex terrena conversatione mundissimæ menti ejus pulvis adhæsit, illa eum tribulatione excussum esse non sit ambiguum. Cum enim dicat tantus apostolus, qui super Dominicum recubuit pectus, "[1] Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est:" cumque peccatum omne aut levius hic, aut in futuro gravius, judicet Christus, noluit ei aliquid offensionis post mortem occurrere, quem se toto corde sciebat amare; ideoque, si quid in eo examinandum judicabat, voluit [2]in vivente decoquere. Huic nempe assertioni fiducia morientis attestata est. Nam cum quinta feria ante Passionem Domini incolumis, dicto ex quotidiana Quadragesimæ consuetudine psalterio, se hora tertia missam celebraturus usque ad casulam induisset, et usque ad incipiendam missam quæque dicenda erant prædixisset, subito languore tam molesto corripitur, ut ipse, quæ induerat vestimenta exuens, etiam non plicata reliquerit: egressusque oratorio, sine intermissione per biduum, hoc est, usque ad Sabbatum, conteritur; non sedendo, non ambulando, non jacendo, non stando, neque dormiendo, ullam omnino requiem habens. Nunquam tamen noctibus locutus, [3]rogantibus ut silentium solveret non acquievit; rogans ne monachatus sui pudicitiam libarent,

Account of his death.

[1] *Si dixerimus . . . veritas in nobis non est.*] 1 St. John, i. 8, 9.

[2] *In vivente.*] *A. E. L* 2.; in juventute, *S. C.*; omitted in *D.*

[3] *Rogantibus.*] *C. D. E.*; rogantibus fratribus, *A. S. L* 2.

quod nunquam, postquam monachicum habitum accepisset, a completorio exiens usque ad sequentis diei primam locutus fuisset. Sabbato autem sequente dum ita quassatus se putaret jam jamque defungi, surgentes ad matutinam synaxim fratres ad se inungendum venire præcepit; quos cum inunctus ex more osculari voluisset, nimio eorum compulsus amore, non jacendo, nec sedendo, sed, quamvis ad mortem anxiatus, inter brachia sustentatus stando osculatus est. Die illucescente in capitulum ductus, cum sedisset, fratres ante se omnes venire rogavit; quibus paternam benedictionem et absolutionem impertiens, idem sibi ab iis voluit impertiri. Postea docuit quid, si obiret, eis esset agendum. Sicque regressus est unde venerat, reliquum diei cum sequenti Dominica aliquanto quietius transigens: cum ecce post hæc, id est, post Dominicam, imminentis mortis indicia deprehenduntur; et ipse manibus ablutis, pexo capite, missam auditurus oratorium ingreditur, sumptoque corpore et sanguine Domini ad lectum regressus est. Post modicum obmutuit: fratres ante illum venientes sigillatim benedicebat, simili modo totum conventum; at vero, oculis in cœlum erectis, utraque manu dominum abbatem cum omnibus sibi commissis benedicere nitebatur. Rogatus autem a fratribus ut apud Deum, ad quem ibat, eorum memor esset,[1] caput inclinando benignissime acquievit. Hæc et his similia cum fecisset, innuit sibi porrigi crucem; quam capite, imo toto corpore inclinato adorans, manibus amplexans, læto ore salutare videbatur et jocundo [2]affectu deosculabatur; cum illico astantes mi-

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[1] *Caput.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; capite, *S.*

[2] *Affectu.*] *A. S. L* 2.; omitted in *C. D. E.*

grando percellit, raptusque in manibus eorum vivus adhuc in presbyterium ante altare sancti Pancratii defertur. Ubi aliquandiu supervivens, roseo faciei rubore suavis, eadem diei hora qua purgandus infirmatus est, cariturus perenniter omni malo, purus migravit ad Christum. Et vide quam [1]mirabiliter in eo cuncta concurrerunt: passio servi cum passione Domini; hora incipientis infirmitatis, cum hora incipientis æternæ salutis; quinque dies quos sustinuit ægritudinis, quinis corporis sensibus, quibus nemo vitat peccatum, emundandis. Porro quod quinto die necdum transacto decessit, ut [2]remur, innuit eum in ultimo sensu, qui tactus dicitur, non perfecisse peccatum. Tertia vero diei hora, qua et infirmatus est et moriendo in vitam ingressus est æternam, quid aliud insinuat quam eandem Spiritus Sancti gratiam, qua omnem ejus vitam gubernatam cognoscimus, et infirmato et obeunti evidenter affuisse? Ut etiam esse supparem illis patribus nostris, [3]Odoni scilicet atque Odiloni, et merito et præmio, non ambigamus, insigne quiddam illis concessum huic quoque collatum est. Cum enim illis contulerit Dominus ut octavo die solennitatum quas præ cæteris diligebant transirent; nam et beatus Odo festivitatem beati Martini, et sanctus Odilo Nativitatem Domini præcipue amabant, in quorum octava die uterque decessit; domino Lanzoni, qui præ cæteris hujus ævi hominibus regulam sancti Benedicti observabat, et beatam Dei genitricem ejusque solennia singulari venerabatur affectu, contulit, ut solita

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[1] *Mirabiliter.*] *A. S. D. L* 2.; mutabiliter, *C. E.*

[2] *Remur.*] *C. D. E.*; reor, *A. S. L* 2.

[3] *Odoni scilicet atque Odiloni.*] Odo, second abbot of Cluni, was founder of the Cluniac rule in the tenth century. Odilo was the fifth abbot of Cluni, and succeeded in 994.

sibi consuetudine, et in transitu sancti Benedicti, et in festivitate sanctæ Mariæ quæ Annunciatio Dominica dicitur, majorem missam in conventu celebraret,[1] et octavo a prædicto sancti Benedicti transitu die præventus infirmitate, octavo nihilominus die ab Annunciatione Dominica migraret ad Christum. Igitur, qui vitam domini Lanzonis ignorat, quam placens Deo fuerit ex fine colligat; nec usitato morientium more prædicta illi contigisse nobiscum credat, quem Spiritus Sancti charismatibus nemine hujus temporis inferius ditatum sciat."

DE GODEFRIDO PRIORE WINTONIÆ.

Godfrey prior of Winchester.

§ 444. Nec memoria [2]Godefridi prioris Wintoniensis ire debet in perditum, qui temporibus his literatura et religione insignis fuit. Literaturam protestantur libri plures, et epistolæ familiari illo et dulci stylo editæ; maximeque epigrammata, quæ satyrico modo absolvit, præterea versus de primatum Angliæ laudibus. Quid? omne divinum officium, quod agresti quadam vetustate obsoletum, per industriam suam nativa excultum venustate fecit enitescere. Religionis et hospitalitatis normam pulchre inchoatam deliniavit in monachos, qui hodieque ita in utrisque prioris terunt vestigium, ut aut nihil aut parum iis desit ad laudis cumulum. Denique est in ea domo hospitium, terra marique venientium quantum libuerit diversorium, sumptu indeficienti, charitate indefatigata. Inter hæc inerat sancto viro morum humilitas, ut nihil ex illo unico philosophiæ promptuario redoleret nisi humile, pro-

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[1] *Et octavo a prædicto sancti Benedicti transitu die præventus infirmitate.*] *A. S. L* 2.; omitted in *C. D. E.*

[2] *Godefridi prioris Wintoniensis.*] Godfrey was prior of Winchester from 1082 to 1107.

cederet nisi dulce. Quantula vero potest videri hæc ejus laudatio? Quotus enim quisque est qui vel minimum literis imbutus non alios infra dignitatem suam opinetur, tumido gestu et pompatico incessu præ se ferens conscientiam literarum? Veruntamen, ne quid perfectionis sanctæ deesset animæ, multis ille annis grabbatum fovit, camino diuturnæ tabis medullas et peccata [1]excoctus.

DE TRANSLATIONE SANCTI CUTBERTI, ET DE SANCTA ETHELDRITHA, QUORUM CORPORA INTEGRA INVENTA SUNT.

§ 445. Sed quid de talibus plura? Erant prorsus tunc in Anglia multi scientia illustres, religione celebres; quorum virtus eo probabilior, quo, seculo senescente, constantior et viridior. Laudabiliter igitur vivendo fidem præteritis faciebant historiis, ne vetera possint falsitatis argui, cum novorum exemplo probentur potuisse fieri. Quin etiam si qui essent ecclesiarum prælati qui viderentur ab antiquorum sanctitate degeneres, in mundialibus scilicet efficaces, in spiritualibus desides; tales, inquam, si qui essent, sumptuosis locorum cultibus conabantur errata obumbrare. Erigebat quisque templa recentia, sanctorumque suorum argento et auro amiciebat corpora, nihil prætermittendo charitate sumptuum quod ad gratiam possit allicere oculos intuentium. Quorum est Rannulfus superius nominatus, qui, apud Dunelmum factus episcopus, in ædificiis monachorum novis, et beati Cuthberti veneratione, nonnullam gloriam nomini suo commentus est: cujus extulit famam [2]sacrati corpo- A.D. 1104.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

[1] *Excoctus.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; excoctans, *S.*

[2] *Sacrati.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; sancti, *S.*

ris translatio, quod, e mausoleo levatum, cunctis volentibus fecit conspicuum. Tractavit illud ausu felici Radulfus tunc abbas Sagii, postea Cantuariæ archiepiscopus; et propalam illibatum protulit, quod quibusdam venisset in dubium utrum olim vulgatum adhuc de integritate compaginis duraret [1] miraculum. Eodemque fere tempore in Heliensi cœnobio, sub abbate Ricardo, virginales exuviæ beatæ Etheldrithæ integræ
A.D. 1109. visæ: videntibus stupori et plausui fuere. Monasterium illud, nuper a rege Henrico in episcopatum mutatum, primum Herveum accepit episcopum; qui, pro penuria victualium, Bancornensem, ubi intronizatus fuerat, deseruerat locum: et ne Lincoliensis pontifex mutilatam suam quereretur diœcesim, ex rebus Heliensis cœnobii damnum rex sarcivit, querelam [2] composuit. Sane quid ejus tempore de primatu duorum metropolitanorum, Cantuariensis et Eboracensis, sit vel justitiæ surreptum, vel violentia præsumptum, dicam cum ad ordinem venero. Jam enim terminata serie regum, de successione totius Angliæ pontificum mihi video esse dicendum; in quo utinam affluereet uber dicendi copia, ne ulterius sub oblivione jaceant tam præclara patriæ lumina. Et quidem erunt multi fortassis, in diversis regionibus Angliæ, qui quædam aliter ac ego [3] dixi se dicant audisse vel legisse: verunta-

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[1] *Miraculum.*] See antea, p. 359, note [5].

[2] *Composuit.*] Here terminates the MS. *F.*—The following lines, which appear at the conclusion, indicate the writer's name to have been 'Ivo.'

'Scripserit hunc librum quis, lector forte requiret;
Exacuat sensus et metra legat, cito discet.
Illius nomen tria componunt elementa,
In numeris quorum primum satis indicat unum,
Ponunt et leges numeri pro quinque secundum,
Si Græcus scribat postremo collige finem.'

[3] *Dixi.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

men, si recto aguntur judicio, non ideo me censorio expungent stylo; ego enim veram legem secutus historiæ, nihil unquam posui nisi quod a fidelibus relatoribus vel scriptoribus addidici. Porro, quoquo modo hæc se habeant, privatim ipse mihi sub ope Christi gratulor, quod continuam Anglorum historiam ordinaverim post Bedam vel solus vel primus: [1]si quis ergo, sicut jam susurrari audio, post me scribendi [2]de talibus munus attentaverit, mihi debeat collectionis gratiam, sibi habeat electionis materiam.

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§ 446. Hæc habui, domine venerabilis Comes, de gestis Anglorum quæ dicerem, ab adventu eorum in Angliam usque in annum [3]vicesimum octavum felicissimi regni patris vestri: cætera proprium occupabunt libellum, si benignum istis non negaveritis vultum. Hoc autem opus postquam absolvi, circumspectis plurimis, vobis potissimum delegandum credidi. Cum enim alios considero, in uno nobilitatem, in altero militiam, in isto literaturam, in illo justitiam, in paucis munificentiam invenio; itaque in aliis aliqua, in singulis singula, in vobis admiror universa. Si quis enim unquam fuit nobilis, vos in ea re præcellitis; cujus genus a præcellentissimis regibus et comitibus lineam trahit, animus a moribus imitationem conducit. Habetis ergo a Normannis bellandi peritiam, [4]a Flandrensibus liniamento-

Concluding address to Robert earl of Gloucester.

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[1] *Si quis ... materiam.*] Mr. Sharpe suggests that Malmesbury here probably alludes to Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote a History of England shortly afterwards.

[2] *De talibus.*] *A. S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[3] *Vicesimum octavum.*] *C. D. E. K.*; vicesimum, *A. S. L* 2.

[4] *A Flandrensibus.*] *A. S. D. E. L* 2. — *A* 3. originally ended in the middle of this word: the remainder has been supplied by a much more modern hand.

rum gratiam, a Francis generositatis eminentiam. De militiæ porro vestræ industria quis hæsitet, cum eam excellentissimus pater in vobis suspiciat? Cum enim aliqui motus in Normannia nunciantur, vos præmittit, ut virtute vestra profligentur, suspecta sagacitate redintegretur concordia: cum redit in regnum, vos reducit, ut sitis ei foris tutelæ, domi lætitiæ, ornamento ubique.

§ 447. Literas ita fovetis, ut cum sitis tantarum occupationum mole districti, horas tamen aliquas vobis surripiatis, quibus aut ipsi legere, aut legentes possitis audire. Digno itaque moderamine fortunæ vestræ celsitudinem componitis, dum nec militiam propter literas postponitis, nec literas propter militiam, ut quidam, conspuitis: in quo etiam scientiæ vestræ patescit miraculum, quia, dum libros diligitis, datis [1]indicium quam avidis medullis fontem eorum combiberitis; [2]multæ siquidem res, etiam cum non habentur, desiderantur, philosophiam nullus amabit qui eam extrema satietate non hauserit.

§ 448. Justitiæ vestræ fama regiones etiam nostras attigit; a vobis siquidem pravum judicium nunquam extorsit vel personæ sublimitas vel fortunæ tenuitas. Nihil reperit in vestro pectore quod suis conducat artibus qui justitiam labefactare conatur, seu oblatione muneris, seu delinimento favoris.

§ 449. [3]Munificentiæ vestræ pecuniæque contemptum prætendit Teochesbiriæ cœnobium; de quo (ut audio) non solum xenia non corroditis,

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[1] *Indicium.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; judicium, *S.*

[2] *Multæ.*] *A. C. D. E. L* 2.; multis, *S.*

[3] *Munificentiæ ... judicio.*] *A.S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2. — The whole of this section is omitted in *E* 1.

sed etiam ultro missa [1]remittitis. Quantum hoc sit isto præsertim tempore, quantæ in seculo gloriæ, quantæ apud Deum gratiæ, ipsi certe intelligitis. Beata est igitur, secundum sententiam Platonis, respublica cujus rector est philosophus, cujus princeps non delectatur muneribus. Plura de talibus dicerem, nisi et suspicio meæ adulationis, et laudanda modestia vestri pudoris dicturientem cohiberet. Sane quæ dixi non prætermittere fuit consilium, ut per officium linguæ meæ probitas vestra posteros non lateat, et ipsa de virtute in virtutem proficere contendat. Et quidem jamdudum, quibusdam persuadentibus, ferebat animus ut, quæ prætereunda non putarem, per succiduos semper annos huic operi apponerem; sed consultius videtur alium de talibus librum procudere, quam jam absoluto frequenter nova insuere. Nec vero quisquam superfluam me operam dicat insumere, si clarissimi omnium sua ætate regum gesta propono: multa enim sublimitati ejus mea humilitas debet, et adhuc plura debebit, ut, si nihil aliud esset, quod se talem filium habere gaudet; nam et olim felici sorte susceptum, non perfunctorie, ut hodie claret, literis erudiri præcepit, post etiam amplissimarum possessionum fecit dominum, nunc postremo [2]patrium in vos reclinat affectum. Sit ergo hic liber, ut est, vestræ gloriæ absolute consecratus; in altero erit idem vitæ, qui scripturæ, terminus. Quod superest, munus meum dignanter suscipite, ut gaudeam grato cognitoris arbitrio, qui non erravi eligendi [3]judicio.

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[1] *Remittitis.*] *A. S. L* 2.; mittitis, *D. E* 2.

[2] *Patrium.*] *A. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; paternum, *S. C.*

[3] *Judicio.*] *A. S. C. D.*; *C* 1. adds 'Hæc habui, domine venerabilis Comes, de gestis.'

HISTORIA NOVELLA.

PROLOGUS.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS IN LIBROS NOVELLÆ HISTORIÆ, MISSOS ROBERTO COMITI GLOECESTRÆ.

OMINO amantissimo Roberto, filio regis Henrici, et consuli Gloecestrensi, Willelmus bibliothecarius Malmesbiriæ, post emerita trophæa in terris, triumphare in cœlis. Pleraque gestorum præcellentis memoriæ patris vestri stylo apponere non neglexi, et in quinto libro regalium [1]actuum, et [2]in tribus libellis quibus Chronica dedi vocabulum. Nunc ea quæ moderno tempore magno miraculo Dei acciderunt in Anglia, ut mandentur posteris, desiderat animus vestræ serenitatis: pulcherrimum [3]plane desiderium, et vestrorum omnium simile. Quid enim plus ad honestatis spectat commodum, quid [4]conducibilius æquitati, quam divinam agnoscere circa bonos indulgentiam, et erga perversos vindictam? Quid porro jocundius quam fortium facta virorum monumentis tradere literarum; quorum exemplo cæteri exuant ignaviam, et ad defendendam ar-

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[1] *Actuum.*] *E. L* 2.; omitted in *S. C. D.*

[2] *In tribus libellis quibus Chronica dedi vocabulum.*] No such work of this author is now extant.

[3] *Plane.*] *S. E. L* 2.; plene, *C. D.*

[4] *Conducibilius.*] *E.*; magis conducit, *S. C. D. L* 2.

mentur patriam? Quod quia officio styli mei præceptum est fieri, ordinatius puto posse historiam transigi, si, paulo altius repetens; a reditu imperatricis in Angliam post viri [1] sui decessum seriem annorum contexam. Itaque primo vocata, ut decet, in auxilium Divinitate, rerum veritatem scripturus, nihilque offensæ daturus aut gratiæ, ita incipiam.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

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[1] *Sui.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. C. D. L* 2.

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

HISTORIÆ NOVELLÆ

LIBRI TRES.

INCIPIT LIBER PRIMUS NOVELLÆ HISTORIÆ.

QUIBUS DE CAUSIS IMPERATRICEM REX HENRICUS AB ALEMANNIA REVOCAVIT.

ANNO Henrici regis Anglorum vicesimo sexto, qui fuit incarnationis Dominicæ millesimus centesimus vicesimus sextus, Henricus imperator Alemannorum, cui præfati regis filia Matildis nupserat, in ipso ætatis et victoriarum flore [1]obiit. Morabatur eo tempore rex noster Normanniæ, [2]ob pacificandos, si qui in eis partibus fierent, motus; qui, ubi primum obitum generi accepit, non multo post honoratis viris a se missis filiam revocavit. Invita, ut aiunt, imperatrix rediit, quod dotalibus regionibus consueta esset, et multas ibidem possessiones haberet. Constat certe aliquos Lotharingorum et Longobardorum principes succedentibus annis plus quam semel Angliam venisse, ut eam sibi dominam requirerent; [3]verumtamen fructu laborum caruisse, cogitante rege ut filiæ connubio

Henry I.

Death of Emp. Hen. V. A.D. 1125.

Matilda returns to England, A.D. 1126.

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[1] *Obiit.*] *L* 2. reads 'obierat vel obiit.'—The emperor Henry V. died on the 23rd May, A.D. 1125; and in September, A.D. 1126, King Henry returned from Normandy with his daughter the empress.

[2] *Ob.*] *E.*; ad, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[3] *Verumtamen.*] *E.*; sed, *S. C. D. L* 2.

inter se et Andegavensem comitem pacem componeret. Mirum enim in modum vir ille, omnium regum quos nostra et etiam patrum nostrorum tenet memoria maximus, suspectam tamen semper habuit Andegavensium potentiam. Hinc est quod [1]sponsalitia quæ Willelmus nepos suus, comes postea Flandriæ, cum filia comitis Andegavensis Fulconis, postea regis Ierosolymorum, contracturus esse [2]videbatur, dissolvit et cassavit. Hinc est quod aliam ejusdem filiam filio suo Willelmo impubi vix dum adolescenti [3]conjunxit. Hinc est quod hanc filiam suam (de qua incepimus loqui), post imperatorium thorum, ejusdem Fulconis filio nuptum collocavit, sicut sermo procedens dicere perget.

DE CONCILIO HABITO LONDON.

A.D. 1126.

Settlement of the succession.

§ 2. Anno vicesimo septimo [4]regni sui rex Henricus Angliam venit mense Septembri, adducens secum filiam suam. Proximo vero Natali Domini convocato apud Londoniam magno cleri et optimatum numero, uxori suæ, filiæ ducis Lovannensis, quam post obitum Matildis duxerat, comitatum Salopesbiriæ dedit: quam videlicet fœminam dolens non concipere, dum et perpetuo sterilem fore timeret, de successore regni merito anxius cogitabat. De qua re antea multum diuque [5]considerato consilio, tunc in eodem concilio omnes totius Angliæ optimates, episcopos etiam et abbates, sacramento adegit et obstrinxit, ut, si ipse sine hærede masculo decederet, Matildem filiam suam quondam imperatricem incunctanter

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[1] *Sponsalitia . . . cassavit.*] See § 419, p. 654, note [2].

[2] *Videbatur.*] *E.*; dicebatur, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[3] *Conjunxit.*] See § 419, p. 652.

[4] *Regni sui.*] *S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[5] *Considerato.*] *E. L* 2.; deliberato, *S. C.*; desiderato, *D.*

et sine ulla retractione dominam susciperent: præfatus quanto [1]incommodo patriæ fortuna Willelmum filium [2]suum sibi surripuisset, cui jure regnum competeret: nunc superesse filiam, cui soli legitima debeatur successio, ab avo, avunculo, et patre regibus; [3]a materno genere multis retro seculis. Siquidem ab Egbirto [4]rege West-Saxonum, qui primus cæteros insulæ reges vel expulit vel subegit, [5]anno Dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo, sub quatuordecim regibus, usque ad ejusdem incarnationis annum millesimum quadragesimum [6]tertium, quo rex [7]Edwardus in regnum sullimatus est. [8]Nec unquam ejusdem regalis sanguinis linea defecit, nec in successione regni claudicavit. Porro [9]Edwardus illius progeniei ultimus, idemque et præclarissimus, proneptem suam Margaritam ex fratre Edmundo Ireneside, Malcolmi regis Scottorum nuptiis copulavit; quorum [10]filiam fuisse Matildem, hujus imperatricis matrem, constat.

DE SACRAMENTO QUOD PRIMATES ANGLIÆ FECERUNT IMPERATRICI.

The nobles swear fealty to the empress.

§ 3. Juraverunt ergo cuncti, quicunque in

[1] *Incommodo.*] *E.*; damno, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[2] *Suum.*] *S. C. D. E* 2.; omitted in *E* 1. *L* 2.

[3] *A materno.*] *E. L* 2.; et a materno, *S. C. D.*

[4] *Rege.*] *S. E. L* 2.; omitted in *C. D.*

[5] *Anno Dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo.*] The union of the kingdoms under Ecgberht did not take place for several years after his accession in 802. See sections 106, 107, pp. 147, et seq.

[6] *Tertium.*] See note [6], p. 329.

[7] *Edwardus.*] *E.*; Edwardus, qui apud Westmonasterium jacet, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[8] *Nec unquam . . . claudicavit.*] Malmesbury has here overlooked the reigns of Cnut and his sons.

[9] *Edwardus . . . nuptiis copulavit.*] Margaret was married after the death of Edward the Confessor: it was her brother, Eadgar Aetheling, who, whilst an exile in Scotland, consented to her marriage with King Malcolm. (Sax. Chron. An. 1067.)

[10] *Filiam . . . constat.*] *E.*; filia Matildis hujus imperatricis mater extitit, *S. C. D. L* 2.

eodem concilio alicujus[1] viderentur esse momenti; primo Willelmus Cantuariæ archiepiscopus, mox cæteri episcopi, nec minus abbates. Laicorum primus juravit David rex Scotiæ, ejusdem imperatricis avunculus; tunc Stephanus comes Moritonii et Bononiæ, nepos Henrici regis ex sorore Adala: mox Robertus regis filius, quem ante regnum susceperat, et [2]comitem Gloecestræ fecerat; [3]data ei in matrimonium Mabilia, spectabili et excellenti fœmina, domina tum viro morigera, tum etiam fœcunditate numerosæ et pulcherrimæ prolis beata. Notabile, [4]ut dicitur, fuit certamen inter Robertum et Stephanum, dum æmula laude virtutum inter se contenderent quis eorum prior juraret; illo privilegium filii, isto dignitatem nepotis spectante. Ita obstrictis [5]proceribus omnibus fide et sacramento, tunc quidem a quoque
A.D. 1127. in sua discessum est. Post Pentecosten vero misit [6]rex [7]filiam in Normanniam, jubens eam per Rothomagensem archiepiscopum desponsari filio prædicti Fulconis, adolescenti magnæ nobilitatis et prædicandi roboris: nec distulit quin ipse quoque Normanniam navigaret, [8]eosque matrimonio conjungeret. Quo facto, quodam vaticinio omnes prædicabant ut post mortem ejus a sacramento desciscerent. Ego Rogerium Salesbiriensem episcopum sæpe dicentem audivi, 'Solu-

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[1] *Viderentur.*] *C. D. E. L* 2.; videbantur, *S.*

[2] *Comitem Gloecestræ.*] Robert was created earl of Gloucester in the year 1119. On the Pipe Roll 31 Hen. I, this entry occurs: 'Gloecestrescire. Et comiti Gloec. xx. li. numero pro parte sua comitatus.'

[3] *Data . . . beata.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. C. D. G. K. L* 2.

[4] *Ut dicitur.*] *E.*; ut fertur, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[5] *Proceribus.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. C. D. L* 2.

[6] *Rex.*] *S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[7] *Filiam.*] *E.*; filiam suam, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[8] *Eosque matrimonio conjungeret.*] The nuptials of Matilda with Geoffrey Plantagenet, afterwards earl of Anjou, were celebrated in the presence of her father in September 1127.

tum se [1]sacramento quod imperatrici fecerat: eo enim pacto se jurasse, ne rex præter consilium suum et cæterorum procerum filiam cuiquam nuptum daret extra regnum. Ejus matrimonii nullum auctorem, nullum fuisse conscium, nisi Robertum comitem Gloecestræ, et Brianum filium comitis, et episcopum Luxoviensem.' Nec vero hæc iccirco dixerim quod credam vera fuisse verba hominis, qui se unicuique tempori pro volubilitate fortunæ accommodare nosset; sed sicut verax historicus opinionem provincialium scriptis appono.

DE OBITU HONORII PAPÆ, ET DE CONTENTIONE ELIGENDI APOSTOLICI.

§ 4. Reliquos annos vitæ et regni Henrici [2]regis breviter percensere libet; ut nec rerum cognitione fraudentur posteri, nec his quæ minus ad hanc historiam pertinent prolixius immorari videar. [3]Anno vicesimo octavo rediit in Angliam rex a Normannia. Anno vicesimo nono quiddam accidit in Anglia quod mirum videatur crinitis nostris, qui, obliti quid nati sunt, [4]libenter se in

Transactions till Henry's death.

A.D. 1129.

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[1] *Sacramento.*] *E.*; a sacramento, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[2] *Regis.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. C. D. L* 2.

[3] *Anno vicesimo octavo.*] Henry completed the twenty-eighth year of his reign 4th Aug. 1128: but the Saxon Chronicle places his return from Normandy during the autumn of 1129.

[4] *Libenter se in muliebris sexus habitum transformant.*] *E.*; in muliebris sexus habitum capillorum longitudine se ipsos transformant, *S. C. D. L* 2. — Ordericus Vitalis (Bouq. XII. 696) bears testimony to the excessive culture which the hair received in that age, not less in England than in France. This extraordinary fashion, which was not confined to the laity, prevailed in England at various periods, and acts of council and royal edicts have been issued to restrain it. In the council held at London in 1102, over which Anselm presided, it was enacted, 'Ut criniti sic tondeantur ut pars aurium appareat, et oculi non tegantur.' See more on this subject in Eadmer, p. 81. In the twenty-first of Hen. III. the following order was made by that king: 'Rex Willelmo de Perecut salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus

muliebris sexus habitum transformant. Quidam provincialium militum, magno crinium luxu superbiens, conscientiaque stimulante perterritus, visus est sibi videre in somniis quasi aliquis eum capillorum suorum criniculis suffocaret; quare, somno excussus, quicquid superfluebat comarum cito abscidit. Cucurrit exemplum per Angliam, et (sicut recens pœna mentem movere solet) omnes pene milites ad justum modum crines suos recidi æquanimiter tulerunt. Sed non diu stetit hæc sanctitas; vix enim anno elapso, cuncti, qui sibi curiales esse videbantur, in prius vitium reciderunt: longitudine capillorum cum fœminis certabant, et, ubi crines deficiunt, involucra quædam innodabant; obliti vel potius ignari sententiæ apostolicæ, '[1]Vir si comam nutrierit, ignominia est illi.' Anno tricesimo rex Henricus transiit in Normanniam. Eo anno defuncto papa Honorio, magna contentione eligendi apostolici Romana fluctuavit ecclesia. Erant tunc in eadem urbe duo famosissimi cardinales, Gregorius diaconus sancti Angeli, et Petrus presbyter cardinalis, filius Leonis Romanorum principis: ambo literis et industria insignes; nec erat facile

A.D. 1130.

14 Feb.

Schism in the church of Rome.

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et plenam potestatem vobis dedimus scindendi capillos clericorum nostrorum, qui sunt de hospitio nostro et familia nostra, longos crines habentium, et comas nutrientium, et ad crocos capillorum suorum deponendos. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quatenus ad hoc modo debito diligenter intendatis; hujusmodi potestatem nostram vobis concessam taliter exequentes, circa prædictos capillos scindendos et crocos deponendos, ne ad capillos vestros scindendos forcipes apponere debeamus. Teste me ipso apud Clyve secundo die Septembris.' (Rot. Pat. 21 Hen. III. m. 3.) 'A memorable precedent,' says Prynne, 'fit to be imitated and put in execution in our effeminate degenerous age, more peccant in this kind than any former times, there being more false heads (if not hearts too) in England, and more long-haired ruffians, both of clergy, court, city, country, needing such a reformation and reform as this writ prescribes, than in any precedent age.' (Prynne's Papal Usurp. tom. II. p. 479.)

[1] *Vir si comam nutrierit, ignominia est illi.*] 1 Cor. XI. 14.

discernere populo quisnam eorum justius eligeretur a clero. Prævenit tamen pars quæ favebat Gregorio ut pontifex ordinatus vocaretur Innocentius: sparsus est etiam rumor in plebem quod adhuc Honorius spiraret, et ita fieri præciperet. Auctores fuerunt hujus ordinationis Willelmus Prænestinus episcopus, Mathæus Albanensis, Conradus Sabinensis, Johannes Hostiensis, Petrus Cremensis de titulo sancti Crisogoni, Haimericus cancellarius. At vero pars altera, sepulto jam Honorio, annitentibus fratribus Petri, locupletissimis Romanorum et potentissimis, eum electum et sacratum vocavit Anacletum. Maximus hujus ordinationis hortator et auctor Petrus Portuensis episcopus fuit: cujus epistolam si posuero, ea omnem controversiam aperiet, pronior tamen in Anacletum.

EPISTOLA PETRI PORTUENSIS DE EADEM CONTENTIONE.

§ 5. 'Petrus Portuensis episcopus, quatuor episcopis Willelmo Prænestino, Mathæo Albanensis, Conrado Sabinensi, Johanni Ostiensi. Quanta sit pro vobis tribulatio cordis mei, ille solus novit qui omnia novit: vobis quoque meis literis cognitum saltem jam ex parte fuisset, nisi ecclesiæ sententia et communis auctoritas prohiberet. De commendatione seu vituperatione personarum de quibus nunc sermonum varietas agitatur, non est hujus temporis judicare: est qui quærat et judicet. Si tamen quisquam præsto fuerit accusare, præsto erit et qui debeat respondere; præsertim cum in vestro et meo, immo in totius ecclesiæ conspectu, uterque sapienter vixerit et honeste, et quæ officii sui erant plena hucusque exercuerit libertate. Abstinere vos potius convenit a sermonibus otiosis et verbis præ-

Epistle of Peter bishop of Porto.

cipitationis: si de rumoribus agitur, longe se aliter habent res quam vestræ apud me literæ protestantur. Ad hæc, si verba quæ posuistis, si ordinis rationem attenditis, (ut, salva reverentia vestra, loquar,) factionem illam vestram qua confidentia, qua fronte, electionem vocare præsumitis? Cur illum vestrum dicitis ordinatum, cum prorsus in causa ejus ordo non fuerit? Siccine didicistis papam eligere? in angulo, in abscondito, in tenebrosis et umbra mortis? Si mortuo papæ vivum succedere [1] volebatis, cur mortuum vivere prædicabatis? multo melius erat mortuo humanitatem impendere, et sic de vivi solatio cogitare. Sed ecce! [2] dum de mortuo solatium vivo requiritis, et vivum et mortuum pariter suffocastis. Postremo, nec vestrum, sicut nec meum, fuit eligere; sed potius electum a fratribus spernere vel approbare. Quod igitur, neglecto ordine, contempto canone, spreto etiam ipso a vobis condito anathemate, me inconsulto priore vestro, inconsultis etiam fratribus majoribus et prioribus, nec etiam vocatis aut expectatis, cum essetis novitii et in numero brevi paucissimi, facere præsumpsistis, pro infecto habendum esse, et nihil omnino existere, ex ipsa vestra æstimatione potestis advertere. Cito autem nobis Dominus affuit, et viam qua errori vestro contraire possemus ostendit; fratres siquidem vestri cardinales (quorum præcipua est in electione potestas) cum clero, universo expetente populo, cum honoratorum consensu, in luce, in manifesto, unanimi voto et desiderio, elegerunt dominum Petrum cardinalem in Romanum pontificem Anacletum. Hanc ego electionem canonice celebra-

[1] *Volebatis.*] *S. C. E.*; voluistis, *D.*; voluistis vel volebatis, *L* 2.

[2] *Dum.*] *S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

tam conspexi, et auctore Deo confirmavi. Hunc ecclesia suscipit et veneratur: hunc per Dei gratiam episcopi, abbates, principes, capitanei, et barones, quidam per se ipsos, quidam per nuncios suos, videntibus nobis frequentant. Depræ-dationem illam et crudelitatem, quam prætenditis, non videmus. Quicunque ad eum pro responsis seu negotiis suis veniunt benigne suscipiuntur, benignius revertuntur. Redite, jam redite ad cor: nolite schisma in ecclesia facere; ad animarum subversionem nolite ulterius laborare: teneat vos timor [1]Dei, non pudor seculi. Nunquid qui dormit, non adjiciet ut resurgat? desistite jam mendaciis, in quibus impii spem suam ponere consuerunt. Dominus Tiburtius in scriptis suis cum [2]juramento testificatus est, dicens quod ego diaconum sancti Angeli solum idoneum judicavi ad pontificatus ordinem. Videat ipse quid dixerit: ego in occulto locutus sum nihil; non est aliquis qui hoc verbum ab ore meo unquam audierit. Hæc fuit sententia mea semper, ut non nisi sepulto papa de successoris persona mentio haberetur. Unitatem ecclesiæ tenui, et tenebo: veritati et justitiæ adhærere curabo, confidenter sperans quia justitia et veritas liberabit me.' Sic prædictus Petrus [3]Portuensis, Petro Leoni pronior, scripsit. Nec vero pars altera cessabat quin et ipsum Petrum catulum leonis diceret, et fautores ejus factionis complices nominaret. Et illi quidem varia inter se dubiis de rebus agebant. Innocentius vero exclusus Roma, transcensis Alpibus, [4]Galliam contendit. Ibi ab

The sovereigns acknowledge Innocent.

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[1] *Dei.*] *E. L* 2.; Domini, *S. C. D.*

[2] *Juramento.*] *E.*; sacramento, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[3] *Portuensis, Petro Leoni.*] *E.*; Portuensis episcopus, in Petrum Leonis filium, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[4] *Galliam.*] *S. C. D. L* 2.; Galbam, *E.*

omni citramontana ecclesia inconcunctanter susceptus est: quin etiam et rex Henricus, qui non leviter a sententia quam semel proposuisset dejici nosset, illi apud Carnotum ultro manus dedit; et apud Rothomagum non modo suis, sed et optimatum et etiam Judæorum, muneribus [1]eum dignatus est. Nec vero Innocentius, quamvis ab Anglorum et Francorum regibus, simul et ab imperatore Alemannorum, valde juvaretur, nunquam tamen quiete potiri potuit, quod Anacletus Romanæ sedem teneret ecclesiæ. At vero [2]ipso Anacleto defuncto octavo præsumpti (ut dicebatur) sui episcopatus anno, dominus [3]Innocentius inconcussa ad hoc tempus pace apostolica fruitur dignitate.

25 Jan. A.D. 1138.

A.D. 1131. Oath of fealty to Matilda renewed.

§ 6. Anno tricesimo primo regni sui rediit [4]rex in Angliam. Imperatrix quoque eodem anno [5]natali solo adventum suum exhibuit; habitoque non parvo procerum conventu apud Northamtonam, priscam fidem apud eos qui dederant novavit, ab his qui non dederant accepit. [6]Eodem anno Lodowicus rex Francorum, et in senium vergens et nimia corpulentia gravis, filium coronari jussit ut regni successorem: quo non multo post casu equi exanimato, alterum per manum pontificis [7]Romani diademate insignivit. Is, ut [8]ferunt, ab antiqua Francorum fortitudine non

Consecration of Louis VII. of France.

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[1] *Eum dignatus est.*] *S. C. D. E* 1. *L* 2.; eum suscipere dignatus est, *E* 2.

[2] *Ipso.*] *S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[3] *Innocentius . . . dignitate.*] Pope Innocent died 24th Sept. 1143.

[4] *Rex.*] *E.*; rex Henricus, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[5] *Natali solo.*] *S. C. D. E* 1. *L* 2.; natali Angliæ solo, *E* 2.

[6] *Eodem anno.*] Philippe, eldest son of Louis VI, was consecrated by command of his father on the 14th April 1129; but, meeting with an accidental death on the 13th Oct. 1131, the king, twelve days afterwards, caused his second son Louis to be crowned at Rheims by the Roman pontiff, Innocent II.

[7] *Romani.*] *S. C. D. L* 2.; Remensis, *E.*

[8] *Ferunt.*] *S. C. D. E* 1. *L* 2.; dicunt, *E* 2.

degenerans, etiam Aquitaniam juri suo per uxoris dotale fœdus acquisivit; quam post Lodowicum, Karoli magni filium, in proprio dominatu Francorum reges non habuisse noscuntur.

DE LUE PECORUM.

§ 7. [1]Anno tricesimo primo regni Henrici infesta lues domesticorum animalium totam pervagata est Angliam: plenæ porcorum haræ subito vacuabantur; integra boum præsæpia repente destituebantur. Duravit sequentibus annis eadem pestis, ut nulla omnino totius regni villa, hujus miseriæ immunis, alterius incommoda ridere posset. Tunc etiam contentio inter Bernardum episcopum Menevensem et Urbanum Landavensem de jure parochiarum, quas idem Urbanus illicite usurpaverat, æterno fine sopita est: tot enim ad curiam Romanam appellationibus, tot itinerum expensis, tot causidicorum conflictibus multis annis ventilata, tandem aliquando morte Urbani apud Romam soluta, vel potius decisa est; nam et apostolicus, æquitate rei perpensa, religioni et justitiæ Menevensis episcopi qua decebat sententia satisfecit. Eodem etiam anno Willelmus archiepiscopus Cantuariæ legationem in Angliam, Romanæ sedis indulgentia, personaliter impetravit. A.D. 1132.

DE TRANSITU REGIS HENRICI ET DE MORTE EJUS.

§ 8. [2]Anno tricesimo secundo regni pridie Henry's last voyage to Normandy. A.D. 1133.

[1] *Anno tricesimo primo.*] *Rectius* 'secundo.' See Hen. Huntingdon.

[2] *Anno tricesimo secundo regni . . . acceperat.*] Although all the MSS. read 'tricesimo secundo,' yet it is evident from the context that it should be 'tricesimo tertio;' the completion of Henry's thirty-third regnal year being on the 4th of August 1133. This and other passages show that Malmesbury reckoned Henry's reign to commence on the 5th of August, the day of his coronation, and not on the 2nd of that month, the day of his brother's death.

transacto, Henricus nonis Augusti (quo die quondam apud Westmonasterium coronæ culmen acceperat) Normanniam navigavit. Ultimus ille fatalisque regi transitus fuit. Mira tunc prorsus providentia Deitatis rebus allusit humanis, ut [1]eo die navem ascenderet, nunquam [2]iterum reversurus, quo dudum coronatus fuerat, tam diu et tam feliciter regnaturus. Erant tunc (ut dixi) nonæ Augusti; et [3]feria quarta prosecuta sunt elementa dolore suo extremum tanti principis transitum. Nam et [4]sol ipsa die, hora sexta, tetra ferrugine (ut poetæ solent dicere) nitidum caput obtexit, mentes hominum [5]defectione sua terens: et feria sexta proxima, primo mane, tantus terræ motus fuit ut penitus subsidere videretur, horrifico sono sub [6]terra ante audito. Vidi ego et in eclipsi stellas circa solem; et in terræ motu parietem domus in qua sedebam, bifario impetu elevatum, tertio resedisse. Fuit ergo rex in Normannia [7]triennio continuo, et tanto plus quantum est inter nonas Augusti, quo die ([8]dictum est) mare transivit, et kalendas Decembris, qua nocte decessit. Nec vero dubitandum, multa eum, quæ non immerito scribi deberent, in Normannia gessisse; sed consilium fuit præterire quæ ad nostram notitiam non integre pervenere. Opiniones reditus ejus in Angliam multæ; sive fato quodam, sive divina voluntate, omnes frustratæ. Regnavit ergo annis triginta quinque,

Henry's death, 1 Dec. A.D. 1135.

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[1] *Eo.*] *S. C. D. E* 1. *L* 2.; eodem, *E* 2.

[2] *Iterum.*] *E.*; vivus, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[3] *Feria quarta.*] Wednesday, 2nd Aug. A.D. 1133.

[4] *Sol ipsa die, hora sexta.*] The eclipse of the sun took place on the 2nd of August 1133, at midday.

[5] *Defectione sua terens.*] *E.*; eclipsi sua concutiens, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[6] *Terra.*] *E.*; terris, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[7] *Triennio.*] *Rectius* 'biennio.'

[8] *Dictum est.*] *E.*; ut dictum est, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[1]et a nonis Augusti usque ad kalendas Decembris; id est, mensibus quatuor, [2]diebus quatuor minus. Apud [3]Liuns exercitio venationis intentus, valetudine adversa correptus decubuit. Qua [4]in deterius crescente, evocavit ad se [5]Hugonem, quem primo ex priore de Lewis abbatem apud Radingas, mox Rothomagi archiepiscopum, fecerat; merito sibi, et hæredibus suis, pro tantis beneficiis obnoxium. Optimates rumor [6]suæ ægritudinis celeriter contraxit. Affuit et Robertus filius ejus, comes Gloecestræ, qui, pro integritate fidei et virtutis eminentia, victuram in omne seculum memoriam sui nominatim promeruit. A quibus de successore interrogatus, filiæ omnem terram suam citra et ultra mare legitima et perenni successione adjudicavit; marito ejus subiratus, quod eum et minis et injuriis aliquantis irritaverat. Septimo incommodi die transacto, nocte jam intempesta naturæ cessit. Cujus magnanimos mores hic dicere supersedeo, quia [7]in quinto libro regalium gestorum plenissime illos contexui: quam Christiane [8]autem obierit, hæc subsequens epistola supradicti Rothomagensis archiepiscopi docebit.

EPISTOLA ROTHOMAGI ARCHIEPISCOPI DE OBITU REGIS HENRICI.

§ 9. 'Domino et patri suo Innocentio papæ, servus Hugo Rothomagensis sacerdos, obedi- Epistle of Hugh archbishop of Rouen.

[1] *Et.*] *S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Diebus quatuor minus.*] *S. C. D. L* 2.; diebus minus, *E* 1.; diebus quinque plus, *E* 2.—The calculation by lunar or calendar months reconciles the various readings.

[3] *Liuns.*] *E.*; Leonas, *S. D. L* 2.; Leonibus, *C.*

[4] *In deterius.*] *S. C. D. E* 1. *L* 2.; evidentius, *E* 2.

[5] *Hugonem.*] Surnamed of Amiens.

[6] *Suæ.*] *E.*; omitted in *S.C.D. L* 2.

[7] *In quinto libro.*] p. 640, et seq.

[8] *Autem.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. C. D. L* 2.

entiæ debitum. De domino meo rege, non sine dolore memorando, piæ paternitati vestræ notificandum duximus; qui, subita præventus ægritudine, nos, missis quam citissime legatis suis, [1]ægritudinis solatiis voluit interesse. Venimus ad ipsum, et cum ipso plenum mœroribus confecimus triduum. Prout ei dicebamus, ipse ore proprio sua fatebatur peccata, et manu propria pectus suum percutiebat, et malam voluntatem dimittebat. Consilio Dei, et nostro, et episcoporum, emendationem vitæ suæ observaturum sese promittebat. [2]Sub ista promissione, eo firmiter annuente, pro nostro officio tertio eum et per triduum absolvimus. Crucem Domini adoravit; corpus et sanguinem Domini devote suscepit; eleemosynam suam disposuit, ita dicendo: "Solvantur debita mea, reddantur liberationes et solidatæ [3]quibus debeo; reliqua indigentibus distribuantur." Utinam sic fecissent qui thesauros ejus tenebant et tenent! Tandem illi auctoritatem de unctione infirmorum, quam ecclesia a beato Jacobo apostolo suscepit, studiose proposuimus; et ipsius pia petitione oleo sancto eum inunximus. Sic in pace quievit: pacem det ei Deus, quia pacem dilexit!'

QUOMODO CORPUS REGIS HENRICI EXINTERATUM EST.

Henry's funeral.

§ 10. Hæc præfatus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus de fide regis Henrici morientis vere contestatus est. Funus regaliter curatum, proceribusque vicissim portantibus Rotomagum usque de-

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[1] *Ægritudinis.*] *E.*; ægritudinis suæ, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[2] *Sub ista promissione, eo firmiter annuente.*] *E.*; Sub ista ei firmiter annuente, *D.*; Sub ista promissione, *S.*; Sub ipsa promissione ista ei firmiter annuente, *C. L* 2.

[3] *Quibus.*] *E.*; quæ, *S. C. D. L* 2.

latum est. Illic in quodam recessu ecclesiæ majoris exinteratum est, ne diuturnitate corruptum nares assidentium vel astantium exacerbaret: reliquiæ interaneorum in cœnobio sanctæ Mariæ de Pratis juxta urbem humatæ; quod ipse, ut audio, a matre sua inchoatum, non paucis compendiis honoraverat. Corpus Cadomi servatum, quousque serenas auras paulo clementior hyems inveheret, quæ tum aspera inhorrebat.

DE STEPHANO REGE IN REGNUM PROMOTO.

§ 11. Interea Stephanus comes Moritonii et Bononiæ, nepos regis Henrici (ut supra dixi), qui post regem Scotiæ primus laicorum fidem suam imperatrici obstrinxerat, in Angliam per Witsand maturavit adventum. Imperatrix certis ex causis, simul et frater ejus Robertus comes Gloecestræ, cum omnibus pene proceribus, redire in regnum distulerunt. Quædam [1]tamen castella in Normannia, inter quæ præcipuum Danfrontum, partibus hæredis se applicuere. Constat sane illo die quo Stephanus appulsus est Angliam, summo mane, contra naturam hyemis in regionibus nostris, terricrepum sonum tonitrui cum horrendo fulgure fuisse, ut paulo minus mundus solvi æstimaretur. Ille, ubi a Londoniensibus et Wintoniensibus in regem exceptus est, etiam Rogerum Salesbiriensem episcopum et Willelmum de Ponte Arcus, custodes thesaurorum regalium, ad se transduxit. Ne tamen veritas celetur posteris, omnes ejus conatus irriti fuissent, nisi Henricus frater ejus, Wintoniensis episcopus, qui [2]modo apostolicæ sedis legatus est in Anglia, placidum ei commodasset assen-

Stephen earl of Mortain comes to England,

and is chosen king.

[1] *Tamen.*] *S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Modo.*] *S. E. L* 2.; omitted in *C. D.*

sum; spe scilicet captus amplissima quod Stephanus avi sui Willelmi in regni moderamine mores servaret, præcipueque in ecclesiastici vigoris disciplina. Quapropter districto sacramento, quod a Stephano Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus exegit de libertate reddenda ecclesiæ et conservanda, episcopus Wintoniensis se mediatorem et vadem apposuit. Cujus sacramenti tenorem, postea scripto inditum, loco suo non prætermittam.

DE CORONATIONE REGIS STEPHANI, ET DE MORIBUS EJUS.

Stephen's coronation, 22 Dec. A.D. 1135.

§ 12. Coronatus est ergo in regem Stephanus Angliæ [1]undecimo kalendas Januarii, Dominica, tribus episcopis præsentibus, archiepiscopo, Wintoniensi, Salesbiriensi, nullis abbatibus, paucissimis optimatibus, vicesima secunda die post excessum avunculi, anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo centesimo tricesimo quinto. Vir quidem impiger sed [2]minus prudens, armis strenuus, immodici animi ad quælibet ardua inchoanda, lenis et exorabilis hostibus, affabilis omnibus: cujus cum dulcedinem in promissis suspiceres, veritatem tamen dictorum et promissorum efficaciam desiderares; unde fratris consilium non multo post lapso tempore postponebat, cujus (ut dixi) auxilio munitus, et adversantes summoverat, et ad regnum ascenderat.

DE HUMATIONE REGIS HENRICI.

A.D. 1136. Henry's body removed to England.

§ 13. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis [3]millesimo

[1] *Undecimo kalendas Januarii.*] The majority of contemporary writers state that Stephen's coronation took place on the 26th December.

[2] *Minus prudens.*] *E.*; prudens, *L* 2.; imprudens, *S. C. D.*

[3] *Millesimo centesimo tricesimo sexto, postea.*] *E. L* 2.; millesimo centesimo tricesimo quinto, *S. C. D.*

centesimo tricesimo sexto, postea, regis Henrici corpus, lenibus flabris spirantibus, statim post Natale Domini impositum navi Angliam devectum est; et apud Radingense cœnobium, (quod et foris prædiorum magnitudine, et intus religiosorum monachorum ordine decoraverat,) præsente regni successore, humatum est. Postea vero rex Stephanus in Northanhumbriam paulo ante Quadragesimam contendit, ut David regem Scotiæ, qui diversa sentire dicebatur, conveniret: [1]nec vero difficulter ab eo quod voluit impetravit, quia et ille morum lenitate, et propiori jam senectute infractus, libenter in otium vel veræ vel simulatæ pacis concessit.

DE ADVENTU ROBERTI COMITIS GLOECESTRÆ IN ANGLIAM.

Arrival and conduct of Robert earl of Gloucester.

§ 14. Eodem anno post Pascha Robertus comes Gloecestræ, cujus prudentiam rex Stephanus maxime verebatur, venit in Angliam. Is, dum esset in Normannia, multa cogitatione fatigarat animum quidnam sibi super hoc negotio statuendum putaret: si enim regi Stephano subderetur, contra sacramentum quod sorori fecerat fore videbat; si refragaretur, nihil sorori vel nepotibus profuturum, sibi certe immaniter nociturum, intelligebat. Habebat enim (ut supra tetigi) rex immensam vim thesaurorum, quos multis annis [2]rex Henricus avunculus suus aggesserat; æstimabantur [3]denarii, et hi exquisi-

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[1] *Nec vero difficulter.*] *E.*; nec difficile, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[2] *Rex Henricus avunculus suus aggesserat.*] *E.*; avunculus aggesserat, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[3] *Denarii, et hi exquisitissimi.*] The author of the Dialogus de Scaccario states that for some time after the Norman Conquest there was very little money in specie in the realm, and that until the reign of Henry the First all rents and farms due to the king were rendered in provisions and necessaries for his household; but Henry I. ordered

tissimi, fere ad centum millia libras: erant et vasa tam aurea quam argentea magni ponderis et inæstimabilis pretii, et antiquorum regum, et Henrici potissimum, [1]prudentia congesta. Hanc copiam gazarum habenti auxiliatores deesse non poterant; præsertim cum esset ipse in dando diffusus, et (quod minime principem decet) prodigus. Currebatur ad eum ab omnium generum militibus, et a levis armaturæ hominibus, maximeque ex Flandria et Brittannia. Erat genus hominum rapacissimum et violentissimum, qui nihil pensi haberent vel cœmeteria frangere vel ecclesias [2]expoliare; religiosi quinetiam ordinis viros non solum equis proturbare, sed et in captionem abducere: non solum advenæ, sed etiam indigenæ milites, qui pacem regis Henrici oderant, quod sub ea tenui victu vitam transigebant. Hi omnes gratanter principi assenserant, quem levi negotio ad sua commoda inflectere possent, provincialium dispendio suas fortunas urgentes. Erat præterea Stephanus, cum esset comes, facilitate morum, et communione jocandi, considendi, [3]convescendi etiam cum infimis, amorem tantum demeritus quantum vix mente aliquis concipere queat: et jam omnes proceres Angliæ in ejus assensum pronis mentibus transierant. Erat [4]igitur anxius prudentissimus comes ut illos delicti coargueret, et ad saniorem sententiam præsenti colloquio revocaret; nam viribus obviare

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the payments to be made in money: they were consequently made 'ad scalam' and 'ad pensum;' 'in numero,' or by tale; and 'per combustionem,' or melting, which latter mode was adopted to prevent payment being made in debased money: hence perhaps it was that Henry's money was of the best quality.

[1] *Prudentia.*] *E.*; magnanimitate, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[2] *Expoliare.*] *E.*; expilare, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[3] *Convescendi.*] *E. L* 2.; consuescendi, *S.*; omitted in *C. D.*

[4] *Igitur.*] *E.*; quidem, *S.C.D. L* 2.

nulla propter præfatas causas dabatur facultas: cui nimirum nec in Angliam venire liberum erat, nisi, quasi defectionis eorum particeps, mentis suæ arcanum ad tempus dissimularet. Itaque homagium regi fecit sub conditione quadam, scilicet, quamdiu ille dignitatem suam integre custodiret et sibi pacta servaret; spectato enim jamdudum regis ingenio, instabilitatem fidei ejus prævidebat.

DE SACRAMENTO QUOD REX STEPHANUS FECIT DE SERVANDA JUSTITIA ET PRIVILEGIIS ET LEGIBUS REGNI.

§ 15. Eodem anno, non multo post adventum comitis, juraverunt episcopi fidelitatem regi quamdiu ille libertatem ecclesiæ et vigorem disciplinæ conservaret. Ipse quoque juravit juxta tenorem scripti quod sic habetur in subditis: 'Ego Stephanus, Dei gratia, assensu cleri et populi, in regem Angliæ electus, et a domino Willelmo archiepiscopo Cantuariæ et sanctæ ecclesiæ Romanæ legato consecratus, et ab Innocentio sanctæ Romanæ sedis pontifice postmodum confirmatus, respectu et amore Dei sanctam ecclesiam liberam esse concedo, et debitam reverentiam illi confirmo. Nihil me in ecclesia, vel in rebus ecclesiasticis, symoniace acturum vel permissurum esse promitto. Ecclesiasticarum personarum et omnium clericorum, et rerum eorum, justitiam et potestatem, et distributionem bonorum ecclesiasticorum, in manu episcoporum esse perhibeo et confirmo. Dignitates ecclesiarum privilegiis earum confirmatas, et consuetudines earum antiquo tenore habitas, inviolate manere [1] statuo et confirmo. Omnes ecclesiarum

Stephen's charter.

[1] *Statuo et confirmo.*] *E.*; concedo et statuo, *S. C. D. L* 2.

possessiones et tenuras, quas die illa habuerunt qua Willelmus rex avus meus fuit vivus et mortuus, sine omnium calumniantium reclamatione, eis liberas et absolutas esse concedo. Si quid vero de habitis aut possessis ante mortem regis, quibus modo careat, ecclesia deinceps repetierit, indulgentiæ et dispensationi meæ vel discutiendum vel restituendum reservo. Quæcunque vero post mortem regis, liberalitate regum, largitione principum, oblatione vel comparatione vel qualibet transmutatione fidelium, collata sunt, confirmo pacem me et justitiam in omnibus facturum, et pro posse meo conservaturum, promitto. Forestas quas Willelmus rex avus meus, et Willelmus secundus avunculus meus, instituerunt et tenuerunt, mihi reservo: cæteras omnes, quas Henricus rex superaddidit, ecclesiis et regno quietas reddo et concedo. Si quis autem episcopus vel abbas, vel [1]alius ecclesiasticus, [2]ante mortem suam rationabiliter sua distribuerit, vel distribuenda statuerit, firmum manere concedo: si vero morte præoccupatus fuerit, pro salute animæ ejus ecclesiæ consilio eadem fiat distributio. Dum vero sedes propriis fuerint pastoribus vacuæ, et ipsæ et omnes earum possessi-

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[1] *Alius ecclesiasticus.*] *E.*; alia ecclesiastica persona, *S. C. D. L 2,*

[2] *Ante mortem.*] 'It had been the practice to seize to the king's use whatever property ecclesiastics left behind them. Henry of Huntingdon relates, that on the death of Gilbert the Universal, bishop of London, who was remarkable for his avarice, all his effects, and among the rest his boots crammed with gold and silver, were conveyed to the exchequer. Anglia Sacra, II. 698. Sometimes even what had been distributed on a death-bed was reclaimed for the king. Vide G. Neub. III. 5.' (Sharpe, 563.)—This practice of seizing the property of ecclesiastics at their death seems subsequently to have settled down into a claim on the part of the king of the cup and palfrey of a deceased bishop, prior, and abbot. (See Rot. Claus. 39 Hen. III. m. 17, in dorso.)

ones in manu [1] et custodia clericorum et proborum hominum ejusdem ecclesiæ committantur, donec pastor canonice substituatur. Omnes exactiones, et meschenningas, et injustitias, sive per vicecomites vel per alios quoslibet male inductas, funditus extirpo. Bonas leges, et antiquas et justas consuetudines in murdris, et placitis, et aliis causis observabo, et observari præcipio et constituo. Apud Oxeneford, anno incarnationis Domini millesimo centesimo tricesimo sexto, regni mei primo.' A.D. 1136.

QUOD REX STEPHANUS OMNIA HÆC QUÆ JURAVERAT PERPERAM MUTAVIT.

§ 16. Nomina testium, qui multi fuerunt, apponere fastidio; quia pene omnia ita perperam mutavit, quasi ad hoc tantum jurasset ut prævaricatorem sacramenti se regno toti ostenderet. Liceat enim mihi, pace mansuetissimi hominis, verum non occulere; qui, si legitime regnum ingressus fuisset, et in eo administrando credulas aures malevolorum susurris non exhibuisset, parum ei profecto ad regiæ personæ decorem defuisset. Itaque sub eo aliquarum ecclesiarum thesauri direpti, possessiones terrarum laicis datæ; ecclesiæ clericorum alienis venditæ; episcopi capti, [2] et res suas abalienare coacti; abbatiæ, vel amicorum gratia, vel relaxatione debitorum, indignis concessæ. Sed hæc non tam illi, quam consiliariis ejus, ascribenda puto; qui persuadebant ei, nunquam eum debere carere denariis dum monasteria essent referta thesauris. Stephen's subsequent conduct.

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[1] *Et custodia.*] *S. C. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[2] *Et.*] *E. L* 2.; vel, *S. C. D.*

DE TRANSITU REGIS STEPHANI ET ROBERTI COMITIS GLOECESTRÆ IN NORMANNIAM, ET DE INSIDIIS HABITIS A REGE IN COMITEM.

A.D. 1137. The king goes into Normandy.

§ 17. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis [1]millesimo centesimo tricesimo septimo, rex, primo tempore Quadragesimæ, transiit mare. Comes etiam, pertentatis illorum et cognitis animis quos datæ fidei tenaciores esse noverat, dispositoque quid deinceps agendum decerneret, [2]ipso die Paschæ mare ingressus, plenaque felicitate in terram evectus est. Nec multo post, malignitatem adversæ fortunæ paulo minus expertus est; rex enim eum, incentore quodam Willelmo de Ipre, insidiis intercipere conatus est. Comes autem eas per quendam insidiarum conscium præmunitus, paratos sibi evitavit dolos; et curia, quo sæpe invitabatur, aliquantis diebus abstinuit. Rex, consternatus animo quod insidiis parum profecisset, astutia agendum ratus, serenitate vultus et gratuita confessione magnitudinem culpæ attenuare studuit. Juravit tamen verbis pro placito comitis conceptis, se nunquam ulterius tanto sceleri affuturum; et ut magis in gratiam reciperetur, manu archiepiscopi Hugonis Rothomagensis in manum Roberti missa, sacramentum solidavit. Et hæc quidem egit ille; sed nunquam plenam ei exhibuit amicitiam, cujus semper suspectam habebat potentiam: itaque coram [3]comite pulchre jocundeque comitem [4]illum appellans, retro maledicis verbis mordebat, et quibus poterat possessionibus vellicabat. Robertus quoque; arte artem eludens, occultabat fronte ani-

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[1] *Millesimo centesimo tricesimo septimo.*] *S. C. D. L* 2.; millesimo centesimo tricesimo sexto, *E.*

[2] *Ipso.*] *E. L* 2.; ipse, *S. C. D.*

[3] *Comite.*] *S. C. D. L* 2.; omitted in *E.*

[4] *Illum.*] *S. C. D. L* 2.; omitted in *E.*

mum; pacificeque regem in regnum redire dimittens, ipse commodis suis in Normannia manens intendit. Ita Stephano multis tumultibus in Anglia impedito, et nunc super [1]hos, nunc super alios irruente, ut merito illi quod de Ismahele dictum est coaptari posset, 'quia manus omnium contra illum, et illius contra omnes,' Robertus toto anno illo securum in Normannia egit otium. Rex prompte contra sibi resistentes crebro (ut ferebatur) dicere solebat, 'Cum me in regem elegerint, cur me destituunt? per nascentiam Dei, nunquam rex dejectus appellabor!' Robertus, quasi positus in [2]specula, rerum providebat exitum; et ne de juramento, quod sorori fecerat, erga Deum et homines perfidiæ notaretur, sedulo cogitabat.

QUOMODO ET QUIBUS DE CAUSIS ROBERTUS COMES HOMAGIUM REGIS ABDICAVIT.

§ 18. Anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo centesimo tricesimo octavo, intestinis dissidiis Anglia quatebatur: multi siquidem, quos nobilitas generis, vel magnitudo animi, vel potius viridioris [3]ætatis audacia, ad illicita præcipitabat, a rege, hi prædia, hi castella, postremo quæcunque semel collibuisset, petere non verebantur; quæ cum ille dare differret, excusata mutilatione regni, vel quod eadem alii calumniarentur aut etiam possiderent, illi continuo ira commoti castella contra eum obfirmabant, prædas ingentes ex ejus terris agebant. Nec vero ille aliquorum defectione frangebatur animo; sed modo hic, modo illic subitus aderat, semperque suo magis quam resistentium damno rem conficiebat: multis

A.D. 1138. Troubles in England.

[1] *Hos.*] *E.*; unos, *S. C. D. L* 2.
[2] *Specula.*] *S. C. D. E* 1. *L* 2.; speculo, *E* 2.
[3] *Ætatis.*] *S. C. D. E* 1. *L* 2.; animi vel ætatis, *E* 2.

enim et magnis laboribus suis in cassum effusis, datis vel honoribus vel castellis, simulatam ad tempus pacem ab illis promerebat. Denique multos etiam comites, qui ante non fuerant, instituit; applicitis possessionibus et redditibus quæ proprio jure regi competebant. Erant illi avidiores ad petendum, et is profusior ad dandum; quia fama per Angliam volitabat, quod comes Gloecestræ Robertus, qui erat in Normannia, in proximo partes sororis foret adjuturus, rege tantummodo ante diffidato. Nec [1]fides rerum famæ levitatem destituit: celeriter enim post Pentecosten, missis a Normannia suis regi, more majorum amicitiam et fidem interdixit, homagio etiam abdicato; rationem præferens quam id juste faceret, quia et rex illicite ad regnum aspiraverat, et omnem fidem sibi juratam neglexerat, ne dicam mentitus fuerat; ipsemet quin etiam contra legem egisset, qui, post sacramentum quod sorori dederat, alteri cuilibet ea vivente se manus dare non erubuisset. Animabant nimirum mentem ejus multorum religiosorum responsa, quos super negotio consuluerat: Nullo modo eum posse sine ignominia vitam præsentem transigere, vel mereri beatitudinem futuræ, si paternæ necessitudinis sacramentum irritum haberet. [2]Ad hæc etiam apostolici decreti præ se tenorem ferebat, præcipientis ut sacramento, quod præsente patre fecerat, obediens esset; cujus decreti paginam posteriori libello indicere curabo. Hæc vir ille, qui plena satietate literarum scientiam combiberat, magno fructu sibi fore in posterum sciebat. Cæterum, rex ægre ferens comitis magnanimitatem, omni-

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[1] *Fides.*] *E.*; veritas, *S. C. D. L* 2.

[2] *Ad hæc.*] *E.*; Adde quod, *S. C. D.*; Addebant quod, *L* 2.

bus eum [1] possessionibus in Anglia quibus poterat privavit, et quædam ejus castella complanavit. Solum Bristowia remansit, ut non solum hostes expelleret, sed etiam crebris regem incursionibus fatigaret. Sed quia primum librum Novellæ Historiæ a reditu imperatricis (post mortem mariti) ad patrem hucusque protraxisse suffecerit, nunc secundum ordiemur, ab eo anno quo eadem virago in Angliam venit, jus suum contra Stephanum assertura.

EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMUS NOVELLÆ HISTORIÆ.

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[1] *Possessionibus in Anglia quibus poterat privavit.*] *E.*; possessionibus in Anglia privavit, quantum in ipso fuit, *S. C. D. L* 2.

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

HISTORIÆ NOVELLÆ

LIBER SECUNDUS.

INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS.

ANNO Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo centesimo tricesimo nono, venenum malitiæ, diu in animo regis Stephani nutritum, tandem erupit in publicum. Serebantur in Anglia rumores jam jamque adventurum e Normannia comitem Robertum cum sorore; qua spe cum multi a rege non solum animo, sed et facto, deficerent, [1] ipse dispendia sua multorum injuriis sarciebat. Plures etiam, pro sola suspicione diversarum contra se partium, in curia sua contra decus regium captos, et ad redditionem castellorum, et ad quascunque voluit conditiones, adduxit. Erant tunc duo in Anglia episcopi potentissimi, Rogerius Salesbiriensis, et nepos ejus ex fratre, Alexander Lindocoliensis. Alexander ad tutamen (ut dicebat) et dignitatem episcopii castellum de Niwewerche construxerat. Rogerius, qui ædificiorum constructione magnanimum se videri vellet, plura apud Scireburnam, et apud Divisas multum terrarum ædificiis amplexus, turritas moles erexerat. Apud Malmesbiriam in ipso

A.D. 1139. Stephen's violent conduct.

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[1] *Ipse dispendia sua multorum injuriis sarciebat.*] *E.*; ipse injurias suas multorum dispendiis sarciebat, *S. D. L* 2.

cœmeterio, ab ecclesia principali vix jactu lapidis, castellum inchoaverat. Castellum Salesbiriæ, quod [1]cum regii juris proprium esset, ab Henrico rege impetratum, muro cinctum custodiæ suæ attraxerat. His moti quidam potentes laici, qui se a clericis et opum congerie et municipiorum magnitudine superatum iri dolerent, cæcum intra [2]pectora vulnus alebant invidiæ. Itaque conceptas querimonias regi effundunt: Episcopos, oblitos ordinis, in castellis ædificandis insanire. Nulli dubium esse debere quin hæc ad perniciem regis fierent omnia, dum illi, statim ut venisset imperatrix, cum traditione castellorum dominæ occurrerent, paternorum scilicet beneficiorum memoria inducti. Præveniendos ergo citius, et ad deditionem munitionum arctandos; alioquin regem seram pœnitentiam acturum, cum in potestate hostium [3]esse videret quæ, si saperet, sibi apponere potuisset. Hæc optimates sæpius. Ille, quamvis eis nimio esset favore obnoxius, aliquandiu auribus suis blandientes dissimulavit audire; molliens dilationis amaritudinem, vel religionis in episcopis gratia, vel (quod magis opinor) suæ detractionis invidia. Denique illorum, quæ proceres suaserant, effectum non distulit cum primum volenti se occasio ingessit. Ea fuit hujusmodi.

DE CAPTIONE EPISCOPORUM.

Great council at Oxford, June 24.

§ 20. Apud Oxenefordum circa octavum kalendas Julii facto conventu magnatum, prædicti quoque pontifices advenerunt. Invitus valde Salesbiriensis hanc expeditionem incepit. Audivi [4]etenim eum dicentem verba in hanc senten-

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[1] *Cum.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Pectora.*] *E.*; pectus, *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Esse.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[4] *Etenim.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

tiam: 'Per dominam meam sanctam Mariam (nescio quo pacto) reluctatur mens mea huic itineri! Hoc scio, quod ejus utilitatis ero in curia, cujus est equinus pullus in pugna.' Ita præsagiebat animus mala futura. Tunc, quasi fortuna videretur [1]favere voluntati regis, concitatus est tumultus inter homines episcoporum et Alani comitis Brittanniæ pro vendicandis hospitiis: eventu miserabili, ut homines episcopi Salesbiriensis [2]ecclesiæ, mensæ assidentes, semesis epulis ad pugnam prosilirent. Primo maledictis, mox gladiis res acta. [3]Satellites Alani fugati, nepos ejus paulo minus occisus: victoria non incruenta episcopalibus cessit; multis sauciatis, uno etiam milite [4]interfecto. Rex, [5]occasione accepta, per antiquos incentores conveniri jussit episcopos ut curiæ [6]suæ satisfacerent de hoc, quod homines eorum pacem ipsius exturbassent: modus satisfactionis foret, ut claves castellorum suorum quasi fidei vades traderent. Illos ad satisfaciendum paratos, sed de deditione castellorum cunctantes, ne abirent arctius asservari præcepit. Ita Rogerium episcopum absque vinculis, [7]cancellarium, qui nepos esse, vel plusquam nepos, ejusdem episcopi ferebatur, compeditum, duxit ad Divisas, [8]si vel castellum recipere posset, multis et vix numerabilibus sumptibus, non (ut ipse

Seizure of the bishops.

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[1] *Favere.*] *E.*; famulari, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Ecclesiæ.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Satellites Alani fugati.*] See postea, § 24, p. 721.

[4] *Interfecto.*] *E.*; occiso, *S. D. L* 2.

[5] *Occasione accepta.*] *E.*; occasionem aucupatus, *S. D. L* 2.

[6] *Suæ.*] *S. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[7] *Cancellarium.*] In *D.* 'Alexandrum' is written over an erasure, but apparently in error. —Roger the chancellor of England was the son of Roger bishop of Salisbury, by Maud of Ramesbury, his concubine.

[8] *Si vel castellum recipere posset, multis.*] *E* 1.; scilicet castellum multis, *S. L* 2; secundum castellum multis, *D.*; *E* 2. reads '.s.' for 'si vel.'

præsul dictabat) ad ornamentum, sed (ut se rei veritas habet) ad ecclesiæ detrimentum, ædificatum. In ipsa obsessione castella Salesbiriæ, Sciresburniæ, Malmesbiriæ regi data: ipsæ Divisæ post triduum redditæ, cum sibi ultroneum jejunium episcopus indixisset, ut hac angustia sua [1] animum episcopi Eliensis, qui eas occupaverat, flecteret. Nec [2] Alexander episcopus Lindocoliensis obstinatius egit, redditione [3] castellorum Niwerh et Eslefford liberationem mercatus.

Different opinions on the subject.

§ 21. Hoc regis factum in diversas sententias solvit ora multorum. Quidam dicebant jure castellis alienatos episcopos videri, quæ præter scita canonum ædificassent: illos evangelistas pacis esse debere, non architectos domorum quæ auctoribus maleficii forent refugium. Hæc amplioribus rationibus et sermonibus agebat Hugo archiepiscopus Rothomagi, quantum illa facundia poterat maximus regis propugnator. Alii contra, quorum partibus assistebat Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus, sedis apostolicæ in Anglia legatus, frater regis Stephani, ut ante dixi; quem nec fraterna necessitudo, nec periculi metus, a vero [4] tunc exorbitare cogebat. Sic porro dicebat: 'Si episcopi tramitem justitiæ in aliquo transgrederentur, non esse regis, sed canonum judicium; sine publico et ecclesiastico concilio illos nulla possessione privari debuisse: regem id non [5] rectitudinis zelo, sed commodi sui compendio fecisse; qui castella non ecclesiis, ex quarum

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[1] *Animum.*] *E.*; animositatem, *S. D. L* 2.—The author of the Gesta Stephani states that the king ordered both bishops to be kept without food. One was confined in the crib of an ox-lodge, the other in a hovel. (Flor. Wigorn. Contin. A.D. 1138.)

[2] *Alexander.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Castellorum Niwerh et Eslefford.*] *E.*; castelli, *S. D. L* 2.

[4] *Tunc.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[5] *Rectitudinis zelo.*] *E. L* 2.; ex rectitudinis zelo, *S. D.*

sumptibus et in quarum terris constructa erant, reddiderit, sed laicis, eisdemque parum religiosis, contradiderit.' Ista vir ille tum privatim, tum etiam publice coram rege affirmans, ejusdemque aures de liberatione et restitutione pontificum appellans, omnem consumpsit operam, in nullo auditus: quapropter, vigorem canonum experiendum ratus, concilio, quod quarto kalendas Septembris celebraturus erat Wintoniæ, fratrem incunctanter adesse præcepit. Aug. 29.

DE CONCILIO HABITO PRO CAPTIONE EPISCOPORUM.

§ 22. Dicto die omnes fere episcopi Angliæ, cum Thetbaldo archiepiscopo Cantuariæ qui Willelmo successerat, venerunt Wintoniam. Archiepiscopus Eboracensis Turstinus pro valetudine qua gravabatur, vix enim animi viribus corpus regebat, cæteri vero pro guerra, literis absentiam suam excusarunt. Lectum est primo in concilio decretum Innocentii papæ, quo jam a kalendis Martii (si bene commemini) partes sollicitudinis suæ idem apostolicus domino episcopo Wintoniensi jure legationis in Anglia injunxerat. Exceptum id summo favore, quod, diuturnitate temporis temperantiam suam ostendens episcopus, non se prærupta legatum promulgasset jactantia. Processit deinceps in concilio sermo ejusdem Latialiter, ad literatos habitus, de indignatione captionis episcoporum: quorum Salesbiriensis in camera curiæ, Lindocoliensis in diversorio suo intercepti essent; Heliensis, exemplum simile veritus, veloci profugio ad Divisas se calamitati exemisset. 'Scelus miserabile regem ab incentoribus ita fuisse seductum, ut hominibus suis, præsertim episcopis, in curiæ suæ pace manus injici jussisset. Adjecta esset regio dedecori cœlestis injuria, ut, sub obtentu culpæ pontificum, eccle- Council at Winchester.

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siæ possessionibus suis spoliarentur. Sibi regis contra Dei legem excessum tanto dolori esse, ut mallet se multo dispendio et corporis et rerum suarum affici, quam episcopalem celsitudinem tanta indignitate dejici. Quin etiam regem de emendatione peccati multotiens [1]commonitum; [2]postremo concilii vocationem non abnuisse. Proinde archiepiscopus et cæteri consulerent in medium quid opus esset facto: se ad executionem consilii nec pro regis, qui sibi frater erat, amicitia, nec pro damno possessionum, nec etiam pro capitis periculo, defuturum.'

§ 23. Dum hæc ille sensim per amplificationem exponit, rex, causæ suæ non diffisus, comites in concilium misit, quærens cur vocatus esset. Responsum est a legato ex compendio: 'Non debere illum, qui se Christi fidei subjectum meminisset, indignari si a ministris Christi ad satisfactionem vocatus esset, tanti reatus conscius quantum nostra secula nusquam vidissent. Gentilium quippe seculorum opus esset episcopos incarcerare, et possessionibus suis exuere. Dicerent ergo fratri, quod si consilio suo placidum commodare dignaretur assensum, tale illi Deo auctore largiretur, cui nec ecclesia Romana, nec curia regis Franciæ, nec ipse comes Thetbaldus frater amborum (sapiens profecto vir et religiosus) ex ratione contraire posset, sed quod favorabiliter complecti deberent. Consulte vero in præsentiarum rex faceret, si vel rationem facti sui redderet, vel canonicum judicium subiret. Ex debito etiam oportere ut ecclesiæ faveret, cujus sinu exceptus, non manu militum, in regnum promotus fuisset.' [3]Cum dicto comites egressi,

[1] *Commonitum.*] *E. L* 2.; admonitum, *S. D.*

[2] *Postremo.*] *E.*; postremo tunc, *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Cum.*] *E.*; Sic cum, *S. D. L* 2.

nec multo post [1]cum responso reversi sunt. Comitabatur eos Albericus quidam de Ver, homo causarum varietatibus exercitatus. Is responsum regis retulit, et quantum potuit causam antistitis Rogerii (episcopus enim Alexander [2]aberat, [3]quem manutenuit) gravavit; modeste tamen, sine ulla verborum contumelia: quamvis quidam comitum, astantes juxta, crebro loquelam ejus interrumperent, probra in episcopum jacientes.

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§ 24. Hæc ergo fuit summa dictorum Alberici: 'Multis injuriis Rogerium episcopum affecisse regem Stephanum: rarissime ad [4]curiam venisse quin homines sui, de ejus potentia præsumentes, seditiones movissent. Qui cum [5]sæpe alias, tum nuper apud Oxenefordum fecissent impetum in homines et in ipsum nepotem comitis Alani; in homines etiam Hervei de Liuns, qui esset tantæ nobilitatis, tanti supercilii, ut nunquam regi Henrico petenti animum indulserit in Angliam venire. In injuriam ergo regis Stephani redundare, pro cujus amore venerit, quod [6]ea tanta vis illata sit. Episcopum Lindocoliensem, ex veteri odio in Alanum, seditionis per homines suos auctorem fuisse. Episcopum Salesbiriensem inimicis regis clam favere, dissimulata interim pro tempore versutia: id regem ex multis indubitanter comperisse; eoque potissimum, quod Rogerium de Mortemer, cum militibus regiis quos [7]ducebat, in summo de Bristowiensibus metu, nec una nocte idem episcopus Malmesbiriæ manere dimisisset. Omnibus esse in ore, quod, statim ut imperatrix ve-

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[1] *Cum responso.*] *E.*; proviso responso, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Aberat.*] *E.*; abierat, *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Quem manutenuit.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[4] *Curiam.*] *E.*; curiam regis, *S. D. L* 2.

[5] *Sæpe.*] *S. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[6] *Ea.*] *E.*; ei, *S. D. L* 2.

[7] *Ducebat.*] *E.*; ductitabat, *S. D. L* 2.

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nisset, ille ad eam cum nepotibus et castellis se conferret. Rogerius itaque captus sit non ut episcopus, sed ut regis serviens, qui et procurationes ejus administraret et solidatas acciperet. Castella non per violentiam rex eripuerit, sed episcopi ambo gratanter reddiderint, ut calumniam de tumultu quem in curia concitaverant evaderent. [1]Aliquantum pecuniarum rex in castellis invenerit, quæ ipsius legitime essent; quia eas tempore regis Henrici, avunculi et antecessoris sui, ex fisci regii redditibus Rogerius episcopus collegisset. Eis tamen, sicut et castellis, idem præsul pro timore commissorum in regem libens cesserit: inde non deesse testes regi. Ipsum proinde velle ut pacta inter se et episcopos rata permanerent.'

§ 25. Reclamatum est ab episcopo Rogerio contra sermones Alberici, quod nunquam regis Stephani minister fuisset, nec ipsius solidatas accepisset: minæ quinetiam ab animoso viro, et qui malis erubesceret frangi, prolatæ, si justitiam de rebus sibi ablatis in illo concilio non invenisset, eam in audientia majoris curiæ quærendam. Leniter legatus, ut cætera: 'Omnia quæ dicuntur contra episcopos prius in concilio ecclesiastico et accusari et an vera essent decuisset inquiri, quam in indemnes contra canonum decreta sententiam proferri. Rex itaque faciat, quod etiam in forensibus judiciis legitimum est fieri, ut revestiat episcopos de rebus suis: alioquin jure gentium dissaisiti non placitabunt.'

§ 26. Dictis in hunc modum utrobique multis, causa petitu regis in posterum diem dilata; nec minus in crastinum, ad adventum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis postridie prolongata. Is ubi ve-

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[1] *Aliquantum.*] *E.*; Aliquantulum, *S. D. L* 2.

nit, omnium suspensis animis quidnam afferret, dixit se concedere ut episcopi castella haberent si se jure habere debere per canones probare possent; quod quia non possent, extremæ improbitatis esse contra canones niti velle. 'Et esto' (inquit) 'justum sit ut habeant: certe, quia suspectum est tempus, secundum morem aliarum gentium, optimates omnes claves munitionum suarum debent voluntati regis contradere, qui pro omnium pace debet militare. Ita omnis controversia episcoporum [1]infirmabitur: aut enim secundum canonum scita injustum est ut habeant castella; aut, si hoc [2]ex indulgentia principali toleratur, ut tradant claves necessitati temporis debent cedere.' Council at Winchester.

§ 27. His prædictus [3]subjecit causidicus Albericus: Significatum esse regi quod [4]murmurarent inter se pontifices, pararentque aliquos ex suis contra eum Romam mittere. 'Et hoc' (ait) 'laudat vobis rex, ne quisquam vestrum præsumat facere; quia, si quis contra voluntatem suam et regni dignitatem ab Anglia quoquam iret, difficilis ei fortassis reditus foret. Ipse quinetiam, quia se gravari videt, ultro ad Romam appellat vos.'

§ 28. Hæc postquam rex, partim quasi laudando, partim minando, mandasset, intellectum est quo tenderet. Quapropter ita discessum est, ut nec ipse censuram canonum pati vellet, nec episcopi [5]in eum exerere consultum ducerent: duplici ex causa, seu quia principem excommunicare sine apostolica conscientia temerarium

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[1] *Infirmabitur.*] *E.*; infirmabatur, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Ex.*] *E* 1.; pro, *S. D. E* 2. *L* 2.

[3] *Subjecit.*] *E.*; addidit, *S. D. L* 2.

[4] *Murmurarent.*] *E.*; minarentur, *S. D.*; minitarent, *L* 2.

[5] *In eum exerere consultum.*] *E.*; eum execrare consuetum, *D.*; eam consuetum exerere, *S.*; eum exerere consultum, *L* 2.

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esset; seu quoniam audirent, quidam etiam viderent, gladios circa se nudari. Non enim jam ludicra erant verba, sed de vita et sanguine pene certabatur. Non omiserunt tamen legatus et archiepiscopus quin tenorem officii sui prosequerentur: suppliciter enim pedibus regis in cubiculo affusi, oraverunt ut misereretur ecclesiæ, misereretur animæ et famæ suæ, nec pateretur fieri dissidium inter regnum et sacerdotium. Ille dignanter assurgens, quamvis a se facti eorum amoliretur invidiam, malorum tamen præventus consiliis, nullam bonorum promissionum exhibuit efficaciam.

DE ADVENTU IMPERATRICIS ET ROBERTI COMITIS IN ANGLIAM.

Sept. 1.

Sept. 30. Earl Robert arrives in England with the empress.

§ 29. Kalendis Septembris solutum est concilium. Pridie vero kalendarum Octobrium comes Robertus, tandem nexus morarum eluctatus, cum sorore imperatrice invectus est Angliæ, fretus pietate Dei et fide legitimi sacramenti: cæterum, multo minore armorum apparatu quam quis alius tam periculosum bellum aggredi tentaret, non enim plusquam centum et quadraginta milites tunc secum adduxit. Testimonio veridicorum relatorum sermo meus nititur. Dicerem, nisi adulatio videretur, non imparem fuisse [1]illum Julio Cæsari duntaxat animo, quem Titus Livius commemorat quinque solum cohortes habuisse quando civile bellum inchoavit; cum quibus, [2]inquiens, orbem terrarum adortus est. Quamvis iniqua comparatione Julius et Robertus conferantur: Julius enim, veræ fidei extorris, in fortuna sua (ut dicebat) et legionum virtute spem

[1] *Illum.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D.* *L* 2.

[2] *Inquiens.*] This word appears redundant.

reclinabat: Robertus, Christiana pietate insignis, in Sancti Spiritus et dominæ sanctæ Mariæ patrocinio totus pendulus erat. Ille in tota Gallia, et partim in Germania et Brittannia, fautores habens, omnem etiam Romanam plebem, excepto senatu, muneribus sibi devinxerat: iste, præter paucissimos qui fidei quondam juratæ non immemores erant in Anglia, optimates vel adversantes vel nihil adjuvantes expertus est. Appulit ergo Arundellum; ibique novercæ suæ, quam, amissa matre imperatricis (ut præfatus sum), Henricus rex quondam lecto copulaverat, tuta (ut putabat) custodia sororem interim delegavit. Ipse per tam confertam barbariem, vix dum (ut audivi) duodecim militibus comitatus, Bristou contendit; occurrente sibi medio itineris Briano filio comitis ex Walengeford. Nec multo post cognovit sororem ex Arundello profectam; noverca enim fœminea levitate fidem, totiens etiam missis in Normanniam nunciis promissam, fefellerat. Dedit rex [1]porro imperatrici Wintoniensis episcopi Henrici et comitis Mellentensis Walleranni conductum; quem cuilibet, quamvis infestissimo inimico, negare laudabilium militum mos non est. Et Wallerannus quidem ultra Calnam tendere supersedit, episcopo in conductu perseverante. Contractis ergo comes celeriter copiis ad metas a rege datas advenit, sororemque [2]ad Bristou tutior perduxit. Recepit illam postea in Gloecestram Milo, qui castellum ejusdem urbis sub comite habebat tempore regis Henrici, dato ei homagio et fidelitatis sacramento: nam eadem civitas caput est sui comitatus.

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[1] *Porro.*] *E.*; ergo, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Ad Bristou tutior.*] *E.*; Bristowe ad tutiora, *S. D. L* 2.

QUOMODO REX CEPERAT MALMESBIRIAM, ET DE OBSIDIONE TROHBRIGIÆ.

Oct. 7. Capture of the castle of Malmesbury.

§ 30. [1] Nonis Octobris Robertus quidam, filius Huberti, immanis ac barbarus, castellum Malmesbiriæ, quod Rogerius episcopus infausto auspicio inchoaverat, furtim noctu ingressus, combustoque vico, quasi magno triumpho gloriatus est. Veruntamen ante quindecim dies lætitia excidit, a rege fugatus. Castellum præcepit rex interim asservari, quoad, pace data, posset destrui. Ipse vero rex, antequam Malmesbiriam venisset, quandam munitiunculam Milonis supernominati, Cernei nomine, occupaverat, ibique milites suos posuerat. Quapropter, sicut [2] et ibi et Malmesbiriæ, alias sibi successurum æstimans, castellum Hunfridi de Buhun, qui partibus imperatricis favebat, vocabulo Trobrigge, invasit, sed irritus abiit.

Siege of Trowbridge.

QUOMODO HEREFORD CESSIT IMPERATRICI.

Success of the empress.

§ 31. Tota itaque regio circa Gloecestram usque profundas Guallias, partim vi, partim benevolentia, pedetentim, residuis illius anni mensibus, se dominæ imperatrici applicuit. Aliquanti castellanorum, intra munitiones suas se contutantes, exitum rerum speculabantur. Civitas Hereford sine difficultate recepta: pauci milites, in castello animis obstinatis se includentes, a [3] foris obsessi. Appropinquavit rex si forte laborantibus opem aliquam comminisci posset; sed, frustratus voto, inglorius discessit: equitavit etiam juxta Bristou, superiusque contendens, villas quæ fuerunt in circuitu Dunestor combussit,

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[1] *Nonis Octobris ... abiit.*] *E.*; the whole section is omitted in *S. C. D. G. K. L* 2. *M.*

[2] *Et ibi.*] *E* 1.; sibi, *E* 2.

[3] *Foris.*] *S. D. E* 1. *L* 2.; foribus, *E* 2.

nihil omnino (in quantum valebat) reliquum faciens quod posset inimicis suis esui vel alicui usui esse.

DE OBITU ET MORIBUS ROGERII EPISCOPI SALESBIRIÆ.

§ 32. Tertio idus Decembris Rogerius episcopus Salesbiriæ febrem quartanam, qua jamdudum quassabatur,[1] beneficio mortis evasit: dolore animi aiunt eum contraxisse valetudinem, utpote tantis et tam crebris a rege Stephano pulsatum incommodis. Eum mihi videtur Deus exemplum divitibus pro volubilitate rerum exhibuisse, ne sperent in incerto divitiarum; quas quidam (ut ait [2]apostolus) appetentes a fide naufragaverunt. Insinuatus est primo comiti Henrico, qui postmodum rex fuit, pro prudentia res domesticas administrandi, et luxum familiæ cohibendi. Fuit enim Henricus ante regnum in expensis parci animi et frugi, penuria scilicet rei familiaris astrictus, fratribus Willelmo et Roberto arroganter eum tractantibus. Cujus cognitis moribus, Rogerius ita eum tempore inopiæ demeruit, ut, cum ille solium regni ascendisset, nihil ei vel parum negaret quod ipse petendum putasset: largiri prædia, ecclesias, præbendas clericorum, abbatias integras monachorum, ipsum postremo regnum fidei ejus committere: cancellarium initio regni, nec multo post episcopum Salesbiriæ, fecit. Rogerius ergo agebat causas, ipse moderabatur expensas, ipse servabat gazas; hoc quando rex erat in Anglia, hoc sine socio et teste quando (quod crebro et diu accidit) morabatur Normanniæ. Nec solum a rege, sed et ab optimatibus,

Death of Roger bishop of Salisbury. Dec. 11.

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[1] *Beneficio.*] *S. D. L* 2.; a beneficio, *E.*

[2] *Apostolus.*] 1 Tim. I. 19.

Roger bishop of Salisbury.

ab his etiam quos felicitatis ejus invidia clam mordebat, maximeque a ministris et [1]tunc debitoribus regis, ei quæcunque pene cogitasset conferebantur. Si quid possessionibus ejus contiguum erat quod suis utilitatibus conduceret, continuo vel prece vel pretio, sin minus violentia, extorquebat. Ipse, singulari gloria (quantum nostra ætas reminisci potest) in domibus ædificandis, splendida per omnes possessiones suas construxit habitacula, in quibus solum tuendis successorum ejus frustra laborabit opera; sedem suam mirificis ornamentis et ædificiis, citra ullam expensarum parcimoniam, in immensum extulit. Erat prorsus mirum videre de homine illo, quanta eum in omni genere dignitatum opum sequebatur copia, et quasi ad manum affluebat: quantula illa gloria, (qua quid posset accidere majus?) quod duos nepotes, suæ educationis opera, honestæ literaturæ et industriæ viros, effecit episcopos; nec vero exilium episcopatuum, sed Lindocoliensis et Heliensis, quibus opulentiores nescio si habeat Anglia. Sentiebat ipse quantum posset, et, aliquanto durius quam talem virum deceret, Divinitatis abutebatur indulgentia. Denique, sicut poeta quidam de [2]quodam divite dicit,

'[3]Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis;'

ita Rogerius abbatias in episcopatum, res episcopatus in abbatiam, alterare conatus est. Malmesbiriense et Abbadesbiriense, antiquissima cœnobia, (quantum in ipso fuit) episcopatui delegavit: Scireburnensem prioratum, qui proprius est episcopi Salesbiriensis, in abbatiam mutavit;

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[1] *Tunc.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Quodam.*] *E.*; quolibet, *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Diruit . . . rotundis.*] Horat. Epist. I. 1. 100.

abbatia de Hortuna proinde destructa et adjecta. Hæc tempore regis Henrici, sub quo res ejus (ut dixi) magnis successibus floruerunt: sed enim sub Stephano [1]rege (sicut prædixi) retro sublapsæ sunt; nisi quod in initio regni ejus nepotibus suis, uni cancellariam, alteri thesaurariam, sibi burgum Malmesbiriæ impetravit, subinde rege familiaribus suis ingeminante, 'Per nascentiam Dei! medietatem Angliæ darem ei, si peteret, donec tempus pertranseat: ante deficiet ipse in petendo, quam ego in dando.' Posterioribus annis fortuna, nimium et ante diu ei blandita, ad extremum scorpiacea crudeliter hominem cauda percussit. Quale fuit illud, quod ante ora sua vidit homines bene de se meritos sauciari, familiarissimum [2]militem obtruncari: postero die seipsum, (ut supra fatus sum,) et nepotes suos potentissimos episcopos, unum fugari, alterum teneri, tertium, dilectissimum sibi adolescentem, compedibus vinciri: post redditionem castellorum thesauros suos diripi, et se postmodum in concilio fœdissimis convitiis proscindi: ad ultimum, cum apud Salesbiriam pene anhelaret in exitum, quicquid residuum erat nummorum et vasorum, quod scilicet ad perficiendam ecclesiam super altare posuerat, se invito asportari. Extremum puto calamitatis, cujus etiam me miseret, quod, cum multis miser videretur, paucissimis erat miserabilis; tantum livoris et odii ex nimia potentia contraxerat, et immerito apud quosdam quos etiam honoribus auxerat.

Roger bishop of Salisbury.

DE INSTITUTIONE ABBATIARUM.

§ 33. Anno incarnati Verbi millesimo centesimo quadragesimo monachi abbatiarum quas Roge-

A.D. 1140. John abbot of Malmesbury.

[1] *Rege.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Militem.*] *S. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; militum, *E* 1.

rius episcopus contra fas tenuerat, rege adito, antiqua privilegia et abbates habere meruerunt. Electus est in abbatem Malmesbiriæ à monachis, secundum tenorem privilegii quod beatus Aldelmus a Sergio papa jam ante quadringentos sexaginta et sex annos impetraverat, et a regibus West-Saxonum Ina, Merciorum Ethelredo, roborari fecerat, ejusdem loci monachus Johannes, vir benignitate morum et animi liberalitate apprime insignis. Probavit legatus causam, improbavit personam; nullo enim modo menti ejus persuaderi poterat regem præter dationem pecuniæ electioni consensisse. Et quidem aliquantum nummorum promissum fuerat, causa libertatis ecclesiæ, non electionis personæ. Itaque Johannes, quamvis immatura morte anno eodem præreptus fuerit, æternam tamen et laudabilem sui memoriam cunctis post se seculis dereliquit: nullus enim (vere fateor) ejus loci monachus tantæ magnanimitatis facto assisteret, nisi Johannes inchoasset. Itaque habeant successores ejus laudem si libertatem ecclesiæ tutati fuerint, ipse proculdubio eam a servitute vendicavit.

DE CONFUSIONE GUERRÆ PER ANGLIAM.

Distressed state of the country by civil war.

§ 34. Totus annus ille asperitate guerræ inhorruit. Castella erant crebra per totam Angliam; quæque suas partes defendentia, imo (ut verius dicam) depopulantia. Milites castellorum abducebant ab agris et pecora et pecudes, nec ecclesiis nec cœmiteriis parcentes. [1]Vavassores, rusticos, quicunque pecuniosi putabantur, intercipientes, suppliciorum magnitudine ad quodvis promittendum cogebant. Domibus miserorum

[1] *Vavassores ... cogebant.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. C. D. G. K. L* 2.

ruricolarum usque ad [1]stramen expilatis, ipsos vinctos incarcerabant; nec, nisi omnibus quæcunque habebant, et [2]quocunque modo acquirere poterant, in redemptionem consumptis, dimittebant. Plures in ipsis tormentis quibus ad se redimendum constringebantur dulces efflabant animas, quod solum poterant, Deo miserias suas applorantes. Et quidem, ex voluntate comitis, legatus cum episcopis omnes effractores cœmiteriorum et violatores ecclesiarum, et qui sacri vel religiosi ordinis hominibus vel eorum famulis manus injecissent, multotiens excommunicavit; sed nihil propemodum hac profecit industria. Erat ergo videre calamitatem, Angliam, præclarissimam quondam pacis nutriculam, speciale domicilium quietis, ad hoc miseriæ devolutam esse, ut nec etiam episcopi nec monachi de villa in villam tuto possent progredi. Sub Henrico rege multi alienigenæ, qui genialis humi [3]inquietationibus exagitabantur, Angliam adnavigabant, et sub ejus alis quietum otium agebant: sub Stephano plures ex Flandria et Brittannia, rapto vivere assueti, spe magnarum prædarum Angliam involabant. Comes [4]Gloecestræ Robertus interea modeste se agere, nihil magis cavere quam ne vel parvo detrimento suorum vinceret. Magnates Anglorum, quos ad religionem jurisjurandi servandam flectere non posset, satis habebat in officio continere, ut qui nihil adjuvare vellent minus nocerent; secundum comicum, 'volens quod posset, dum non posset quod vellet.' Ubicumque tamen commode fieri posse videbat, et militis

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[1] *Stramen.*] *E.*; stratum, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Quocunque modo.*] *E.*; quæcunque quocunque modo, *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Inquietationibus.*] *E. L* 2.; turbellis, *S. D.*

[4] *Gloecestræ Robertus.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

et ducis probe officium exequebatur: denique munitiones, quæ potissimum partibus susceptis nocebant, strenue debellavit; [1] scilicet Harpetreu, quam rex Stephanus a quibusdam militibus comitis, antequam in Angliam venisset, ceperat; et alias multas, Sudleie, Cernei, quam rex, ut dixi, militibus suis impleverat; et castellum quod idem rex contra Valengeford obfirmaverat, solo complanavit. Fratrem etiam suum Reinaldum in tanta difficultate temporis comitem Cornubiæ creavit. Nec vero minor erat regi animus ad adeunda quæ sibi competebant munia, qui nullam occasionem prætermittebat quo minus sæpe et adversarios propulsaret et sua defenderet; sed frustrabatur successibus, vergebantque in pejus omnia pro justitiæ penuria: jamque [2] caritas annonæ paulatim crescebat; et pro falsitate difficultas [3] enim monetæ tanta erat, ut interdum ex decem et eo amplius solidis vix duodecim denarii reciperentur. Ferebatur ipse rex pondus denariorum, quod fuerat tempore Henrici regis, alleviari jussisse; quia, exhausto prædecessoris sui immenso illo thesauro, tot militum expensis nequiret sufficere. Erant igitur Angliæ cuncta venalia; et jam non clam, sed palam, ecclesiæ et abbatiæ vænum distrahebantur.

DE ECLIPSI SOLIS.

Eclipse of the sun, 20th March, A.D. 1140.

§ 35. Eo anno in Quadragesima, tertiodecimo kalendas Aprilis, hora nona, feria quarta, fuit eclipsis, per totam Angliam ut accepi. Apud nos certe, et apud omnes vicinos nostros, ita notabiliter solis deliquium fuit, ut homines (quod

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[1] *Scilicet Harpetreu . . . complanavit.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. C. D. G. K. L* 2.

[2] *Caritas.*] *S. E. L* 2.; raritas, *D.*

[3] *Enim.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2

tunc fere ubique accidit), [1]erat enim Quadragesima, mensis assidentes, [2]primo antiquum chaos timerent; mox, re cognita, progredientes, stellas circa solem cernerent. Cogitatum et dictum est a multis, non falso, regem non perannaturum in regno [3]sine dispendio.

DE CAPTIONE ROBERTI FILII HUBERTI.

March 26. Account of Robert Fitz-Hubert.

§ 36. Sequenti hebdomada, ipso tempore Passionis, septimo kalendas Aprilis, [4]præfatus barbarus Robertus filius Huberti, ad furta belli peridoneus, castellum de Divisis clanculo intercepit. Homo cunctorum quos nostri seculi memoria complectitur immanissimus, in Deum etiam blasphemus; ultro quippe gloriari solebat se interfuisse ubi [5]quater viginti monachi pariter cum ecclesia concremati fuerint: idem se in Anglia factitaturum et Deum contristaturum deprædatione Wiltoniensis ecclesiæ, [6]etiam subversione Malmesbiriensis, cum monachorum illius loci omnium cæde; id se muneris eis repensurum, quod regem ad nocumentum sui admisissent. Hoc enim illis imponebat, sed falso. Hisce auribus audivi, quod si quando captivos (quod quidem rarissime fuit) immunes absque tortionibus dimittebat, et gratiæ ipsi de Dei parte agebantur, audivi (inquam) eum respondisse, 'Nunquam mihi Deus grates sciat!' Captivos melle litos flagrantissimo sole nudos [7]sub divo exponebat, muscas et

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[1] *Erat enim Quadragesima.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Primo.*] *D.*; primum, *S. L* 2.; omitted in *E.*

[3] *Sine dispendio.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[4] *Præfatus barbarus Robertus filius Huberti.*] *E.*; Robertus quidam, filius Huberti, immanis ac barbarus, et, *S. D. L* 2.

[5] *Quater viginti.*] *D. E. L* 2.; viginti quatuor, *S.*

[6] *Etiam.*] *E* 1.; jam, *E* 2.; et, *S. D. L* 2.

[7] *Sub divo.*] *S. D. L* 2.; sub aere, *E* 2.; sub divo *vel* sub aere, *E* 1.

id genus animalia ad eos compungendum irritans. Jam vero nactus Divisas, jactare non dubitavit se totam regionem a Wintonia usque Londoniam per id castellum occupaturum, et ad tuitionem sui pro militibus Flandriam missurum. Hæc facere meditantem ultio cœlestis impedivit per [1] Johannem filium Gildeberti, magnæ versutiæ virum, qui apud Merleberge castellum habebat: ab eo siquidem vinculis innodatus, quia Divisas dominæ suæ imperatrici reddere detrectabat, [2] patibulo appensus et exanimatus est. Miro circa sacrilegum Dei judicio concitato, ut non a rege cui adversabatur, sed ab illis quibus favere videbatur, exitium tam turpe meruerit. Mortis illius auctores digno attollendi præconio, qui tanta peste patriam liberarint, ac intestinum hostem tam juste damnarint.

DE CONVENTU LEGATI ET ARCHIEPISCOPI ET REGINÆ, ET ROBERTI COMITIS GLOECESTRÆ, PRO FŒDERE PACIS AGENDO INTER REGEM ET IMPERATRICEM.

May 26. Fruitless attempt at pacification.

§ 37. Eodem anno in Pentecoste resedit rex Londoniæ in Turri, episcopo tantummodo Sagiensi præsente: cæteri vel fastidierunt vel timuerunt venire. Aliquanto post, mediante legato, colloquium indictum est inter imperatricem et regem, si forte Deo inspirante pax reformari posset. Conventum juxta Bathoniam: misso ex parte imperatricis Roberto fratre, et cæteris suis; ex parte regis, legato et archiepiscopo, simul et regina. Sed [3] inaniter, inaniter inquam, triverunt et verba et tempora, infectaque pace discessum.

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[1] *Johannem filium Gildeberti.*] *E.*; Johannem quendam, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Patibulo appensus et exanimatus est.*] *E.*; more latronum suspensus est, *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Inaniter.*] *D. E. L* 2.; omitted in *S.*

Nec fuit ambarum partium æquum dissidium; dum imperatrix, ad bonum pronior, ecclesiasticum non se vereri judicium mandasset; [1]et regii illud quam maxime nollent, dum dominari ad utilitates suas valerent. [2]Proximo Septembri legatus, qui nosset officii sui potissimum interesse ut pax conveniret, pro ea restituenda laborem itineris transmarini aggressus, in Galliam navigare maturavit. Ibi a rege Franciæ et comite Thetbaldo, multisque religiosi ordinis personis, magno et sollicito tractatu de pace Angliæ habito, reversus est in fine [3]pene Novembris; salubria patriæ mandata referens, si esset qui verba factis apponeret. Et plane imperatrix et comes confestim [4]consensere; rex vero de die in diem producere, postremo in summa frustrari. Tum demum legatus se intra se continuit, rerum exitum, ut cæteri, speculaturus: quid enim attinet contra torrentem brachia tendere? cum, laboribus non nisi odium quærere, extremæ sit (ut quidam ait) dementiæ.

EXPLICIT LIBER SECUNDUS NOVELLÆ HISTORIÆ.

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[1] *Et regii ... valerent.*] *E.*; et rex illud quam maxime caveret, consiliis illorum male credulus, qui nihil minus quam pacem vellent, dum ei dominari ad utilitates suas valerent, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Proximo.*] *E.*; Postremo, *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Pene.*] *S. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[4] *Consensere.*] *E* 1.; assensere, *S. D. E* 2. *L* 2.

[1]PROLOGUS

IN LIBRUM TERTIUM.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS LIBRI TERTII.

ANNO incarnationis Dominicæ [2]millesimo centesimo quadragesimo primo inextricabilem labyrinthum rerum et negotiorum quæ acciderunt in Anglia, aggredior evolvere; ea causa, ne per nostram incuriam lateat posteros, cum sit operæ pretium, cognoscere volubilitatem fortunæ, statusque [3]humani mutabilitatem, Deo duntaxat permittente vel jubente. Itaque quia moderni non mediocriter et merito reprehendunt prædecessores nostros, qui nec sui nec suorum post Bedam [4]ullam reliquerunt memoriam, ego, quia nobis hanc proposui summovere infamiam, debeo apud lectores bonam, si recte judicabunt, pacisci [5]gratiam.

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[1] *Prologus.*] *E. L* 2. terminate the second book with section 37, but *L* 2. commences the third book with what *E.* makes the prologue; *S.* and some MSS. continue the second book to the end of the work.

[2] *Millesimo centesimo quadragesimo primo.*] *E* 1.; millesimo centesimo quadragesimo secundo, *S. D. E* 2. *L* 2.

[3] *Humani.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[4] *Ullam.*] *S. D. E* 2. *L* 2.; omitted in *E* 1.

[5] *Gratiam.*] *S. D. E* 1. *L* 2.; gloriam, *E* 2.

WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS

HISTORIÆ NOVELLÆ

LIBER TERTIUS.

LIBER TERTIUS.

QUOMODO REX VENERIT AD OBSIDIONEM LINDOCOLINAM.

REX Stephanus, ante Natale, a Lindocolina provincia pacifice abscesserat; comitemque Cestrensem et ejus fratrem honoribus [1]auxerat. Is comes filiam comitis Gloecestrensis jamdudum a tempore regis Henrici duxerat. [2]Burgenses interim Lindocolinæ civitatis, qui vellent apud regem grandem locare amicitiam, eum Londoniæ manentem per nuncios certiorem faciunt ambos fratres in castello ejusdem urbis securos resedisse: eos, nihil minus quam regis adventum opinantes, levi negotio posse circumveniri; se daturos operam ut quam occultissime rex castello potiatur. Ille, qui nullam occasionem ampliandæ potestatis omittere vellet, lætus eo contendit: ita fratres circumventi et obsessi sunt in ipsis Natalis Dominici feriis.

A.D. 1140. 25 Dec.

Siege of Lincoln.

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[1] *Auxerat.*] Ranulph earl of Chester and his uterine brother William de Romare were the sons of Lucia countess of Lincoln.

[2] *Burgenses.*] *E.*; Cives, *S. D. L* 2.

Iniquum id visum multis, quia (sicut dixi) nulla suspicione rancoris ab eis ante festum abscesserat, nec modo more majorum amicitiam suam eis interdixerat, quod Diffidiare dicunt. Porro comes Cestrensis, quamvis ancipiti periculo involutus, probe tamen castelli angustias evasit: non definio qua versutia; sive consensu aliquorum obsidentium; sive, quia virtus deprehensa solet multis modis quærere, et plærunque invenire, consilium. Itaque non contentus sua solum liberatione, de salute fratris et uxoris, quos in castello reliquerat, sollicitus, animum partes versabat in omnes. Sanior sententia visa flagitare a socero auxilium, quamvis animos ejus jamdudum nonnullis ex causis offendisset, maxime quia in neutro latere fidus videretur esse. Misit ergo perpetuam per nuncios pactus fidelitatem imperatrici, si, respectu pietatis magis quam ullius sui meriti, periclitantes, qui in ipsis captionis faucibus tenebantur, eximeret injuriæ.

QUOMODO COMES GLOECESTRÆ ROBERTUS IERIT AD SUCCURRENDUM OBSESSIS.

March of the earl of Gloucester to its relief.

§ 39. Non habuit comes Gloecestræ difficiles aures, indignitatem rei non ferens; simul etiam pertæsus moræ, quia præclarissima patria causa duorum hominum intestinis rapinis et cædibus vexabatur, maluit (si Deus permisisset) rem in extremos deducere casus. Sperabat etiam divinum in incepto favorem, quia rex generum suum nullis ejus culpis injuriaverat, filiam obsidebat, ecclesiam beatæ Dei genitricis de Lindocolino incastellaverat. Hæc quanti apud mentem principis esse debebant? Nonne præstaret mori et gloriose occumbere, quam tam insignem contumeliam pati? Ulciscendi ergo causa Deum et sororem, simulque necessitudines suas libe-

randi, dedit se discrimini. Comitati sunt eum impigre suæ fautores partis, quorum erat major exhæredatorum numerus, quos in martem accendebat rerum amissarum dolor et conscia virtus: quamvis toto itinere, quod protenditur a Gloecestra in Lindocolinum, ipse callide intentionem dissimularet, quibusdam ambagibus totum exercitum præter paucissimos suspendens.

DE PUGNA COMITIS GLOECESTRÆ ET CAPTIONE REGIS.

§ 40. Ventum ad supremum ipso die Purificationis beatissimæ Mariæ, ad flumen quod inter duos exercitus præterfluebat, Trenta nomine, quod et ortu suo, et pluviarum profluvio, tam magnum fuerat ut nullatenus vado transitum præberet. Tum demum et genero, qui cum manu valida occurrerat, et cæteris quos ductaverat, detegens animum, hoc sibi propositum jam dudum esse adjecit, quod nulla unquam necessitate terga verteret; vel moriendum vel capiendum esse, si non vicisset. Cunctis igitur bona spe ipsum implentibus, (mirabile auditu,) illico belli discrimen initurus, prædicti rapacitatem fluminis cum omnibus suis nando transgressus est. Tantus erat comiti ardor finem [1]malis imponere, ut mallet ultima experiri quam regni calamitatem ulterius protendi: nam et rex cum comitibus quamplurimis, et non inerti militum copia, bello se animose, intermissa obsidione, obtulerat. Tentavere primo regii proludium pugnæ facere, quod Justam vocant, quia tali periti erant arte: at ubi viderunt quod consulares, ut ita dictum sit, non lanceis eminus, sed gladiis cominus rem gererent, et infestis viribus vexillisque aciem regalem per-

A.D. 1141. 2 Feb. Defeat and capture of Stephen.

[1] *Malis*] *S. D. L* 2.; omitted in *E*.

rumperent, fuga sibi omnes ad unum comites consuluere; [1]sex enim cum rege comites bellum inierunt; plures barones, prædicandæ fidei et fortitudinis, qui regem nec in hac necessitate deserendum ducerent, capti. Rex ipse, quamvis ad se defensandum non ei defuisset animus, tandem a militibus comitis Gloecestræ circumquaque aggressus, ictu lapidis cujusdam, terræ procubuit; a quo autem id factum fuerit, ignoratur. Ita omnibus circa se vel captis vel fugatis, cedendum pro tempore, et teneri sustinuit. Prædicandus itaque comes Gloecestræ præcepit regem vivum et illæsum [2]conservari, non passus etiam ullo exprobrationis convitio illum [3]irretiri: et quem iratus modo impugnabat regno fastigiatum, placidus, ecce! protegit triumphatum; ut, compositis iræ et lætitiæ motibus, et consanguinitati impenderet humanitatem, et in captivo diadematis respiceret dignitatem. [4]Vulgus vero burgensium Lindocolinorum multa parte obtruncatum est, justa ira illorum qui vicissent, nullo dolore illorum qui victi essent, quod ipsi principium et fomes istius mali fuissent.

QUOMODO REX IMPERATRICI PRÆSENTATUR.

The king is presented to the empress.

§ 41. Rex [5]vero, juxta morem illius generis hominum quos captivos nominant, imperatrici a fratre præsentatus Gloecestræ: post etiam ad Bristou ductus, et ibi honorifice præter progrediendi facultatem servatus est primo. Succedenti [6]enim tempore, propter insolentiam quo-

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[1] *Sex enim cum rege comites bellum inierunt; plures barones.*] *E.*; pauci barones, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Conservari.*] *E.*; asservari, *S. D.*; reservari, *L* 2.

[3] *Irretiri.*] *E* 1.; irritari, *E* 2.; proscindi, *S. D. L* 2.

[4] *Vulgus vero burgensium Lindocolinorum.*] *E.*; Vulgus vero civium Lindocolinum, *S. D. L* 2.

[5] *Vero.*] *E. L* 2.; omitted in *S. D.*

[6] *Enim.*] *E.*; vero, *S. D. L* 2.

rundam palam et probrose dictitantium non expedire comiti ut regem secus ac ipsi vellent servaret, simul et quia ipse ferebatur plus quam semel, vel elusis vel delinitis custodibus, extra statutam custodiam noctu præsertim inventus, annulis ferreis innodatus est.

QUOMODO IMPERATRIX, INDUSTRIA COMITIS GLOECESTRÆ, A LEGATO ET QUIBUSDAM EPISCOPIS ET PRIMATIBUS WINTONIÆ RECEPTA SIT.

Negotiation between the empress and the legate.

§ 42. Interim et imperatrix et comes apud legatum fratrem ejus nunciis egerunt, ut ipsam, tanquam regis Henrici filiam, et cui omnis Anglia et Normannia jurata esset, incunctanter in ecclesiam et regnum reciperet. Quarto decimo kalendas Martii eo anno prima Dominica Quadragesimæ fuit. Ita, mediantibus utrobique nunciis, ad hoc res expedita, ut ad colloquium in patenti planitie camporum citra Wintoniam conveniretur. Ventum ergo Dominica tertia Quadragesimæ, pluvioso et nebuloso die, quasi mœstam causæ vicissitudinem Fata portenderent. Juravit et affidavit imperatrix episcopo, quod omnia majora negotia in Anglia, præcipueque donationes episcopatuum et abbatiarum, ejus nutum spectarent, si eam ipse [1]in sancta ecclesia in dominam reciperet, et perpetuam ei fidelitatem teneret. Idem juraverunt cum ea, et affidaverunt pro ea, Robertus frater ejus comes de Gloecestra, et Brianus filius comitis marchio de Walingeford, et Milo de Gloecestra, postea comes de Hereford, et nonnulli alii. Nec dubitavit episcopus imperatricem in dominam Angliæ recipere, et ei cum quibusdam suis affidare, quod, quamdiu ipsa pactum non infringeret, ipse quoque fidem ei custo-

Feb. 16.

March 2.

[1] *In.*] *S. D.*; cum, *E. L2.*

March 3. diret. Crastino, quod fuit quinto nonas Martii, honorifica facta processione recepta est in ecclesia episcopatus Wintoniæ; episcopo, eodemque legato, eam ducente in dextro latere, Bernardo vero de sancto David episcopo in sinistro. Affuerunt præterea episcopi, Alexander de Lindocolino, Robertus de Herefordo, Nigellus de Heli, Robertus de Bathonia: abbates etiam, Ingulfus de Abbenduna, Edwardus de Radinges, Petrus de Malmesbiria, Gilebertus de Gloecestra, Rogerius de Theokesbiria, et nonnulli alii. Paucis post diebus Thetbaldus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus venit ad imperatricem apud [1]Wiltunam, invitatus a legato: distulit sane fidelitatem dominæ facere; inconsulto rege alias divertere, famæ personæque suæ indignum arbitratus. Itaque et ipse et plerique præsules, cum aliquantis laicis, permissi ad regem ire et colloqui, dignanterque impetrata venia ut in necessitatem temporis transirent, in sententiam legati [2]concessere.
March 30. Pascha, quod tunc fuit tertio kalendas Aprilis, imperatrix apud Oxenefordum egit; a cæteris in sua discessum.

QUOMODO SOLEMNI CONCILIO IMPERATRICEM IN DOMINAM ANGLIÆ CONFIRMAVERINT.

Council at Winchester. April 7. § 43. Feria secunda post octavas Paschæ, concilium archiepiscopi Cantuariæ Thedbaldi, et omnium episcoporum Angliæ, multorumque abbatum, legato præsidente, Wintoniæ ingenti apparatu inceptum. Si qui defuerunt, legatis et literis causas cur non venissent dederunt. [3]Cujus concilii actioni, quia interfui, integram rerum ve-

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[1] *Wiltunam.*] *E.*; some MSS. read erroneously 'Wintoniam.'

[2] *Concessere.*] *E* 1.; cessere, *S. D. E* 2. *L* 2.

[3] *Cujus concilii.*] *E* 2. is defective from these words to 'legationi sua impedimenta,' § 70, p. 765.

ritatem posteris non negabo. Egregie quippe memini, ipsa die, post recitata scripta excusatoria quibus absentiam suam quidam tutati sunt, sevocavit in partem legatus episcopos, habuitque cum eis arcanum consilii sui; [1] post mox abbates, postremo archidiaconi convocati. Ex consilio nihil processit in publicum; volutabatur tamen per omnium mentes et ora quid foret agendum.

QUOMODO LEGATUS DEBITAM ET LEGITIMAM SUCCESSIONEM IMPERATRICIS IN REGNUM COMMENDAVERIT.

§ 44. Feria tertia hoc fere sensu legati cucurrit oratio: 'Dignatione papæ se vices ejus in Anglia tenere; ideoque per ejus auctoritatem clerum Angliæ ad hoc concilium congregatum, ut de pace patriæ, quæ grandi periculo naufragabatur, consuleretur in medium. Tempore regis Henrici avunculi sui singulare domicilium pacis in Anglia fuisse; ita ut, per vivacitatem, animositatem, industriam ejusdem præcellentissimi viri, non solum indigenæ, cujuscunque potentiæ vel dignitatis essent, nihil turbare auderent, sed etiam ejus exemplo finitimi quicunque reges et principes in otium et ipsi concederent, et subjectos vel invitarent vel [2] compellerent. Qui videlicet rex, nonnullis ante obitum annis, filiæ suæ quondam imperatrici (quæ sola sibi proles ex desponsata quondam conjuge supererat) omne regnum Angliæ, simul et ducatum Normanniæ, jurari ab omnibus episcopis simulque baronibus fecerit, si successore masculo ex illa, quam ex Lotharingia duxerat, uxore careret. Et invidit (inquit) atrox fortuna præcellentissimo avunculo

April 8. The legate's speech.

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[1] *Post.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Compellerent.*] *E.*; impellerent, *S. D. L* 2.

meo, ut sine masculo hærede in Normannia decederet. Itaque quia longum videbatur dominam expectare, quæ moras ad veniendum in Angliam nectebat, (in Normannia quippe residebat,) provisum est paci patriæ, et regnare permissus frater meus. Enimvero, quamvis ego vadem me apposuerim inter eum et Deum quod sanctam ecclesiam honoraret et exaltaret, et bonas leges manu teneret, malas vero abrogaret; piget meminisse, pudet narrare, qualem se in regno exhibuerit: quomodo in præsumptores nulla justitia [1]exercita, quomodo pax omnis statim ipso pene anno abolita; episcopi capti, et ad redditionem possessionum suarum coacti; abbatiæ venditæ, ecclesiæ thesauris depilatæ; consilia pravorum audita, bonorum vel suspensa vel omnino contempta. Scitis quotiens eum tum per me tum per episcopos, convenerim, concilio præsertim anno [2]prædicto ad hoc indicto, et nihil nisi odium acquisierim. Nec illud quenquam, qui recte pensare velit, latet, debere me fratrem meum mortalem diligere, sed causam Patris immortalis multo pluris facere. Itaque quia Deus judicium suum de fratre meo exercuit, ut eum, me nesciente, in potestatem potentium incidere permitteret; ne regnum vacillet, si regnante careat, omnes vos pro jure legationis meæ huc convenire invitavi. Ventilata est hesterno die causa secreto coram majori parte cleri Angliæ, ad cujus [3]jus potissimum spectat principem eligere, simulque ordinare. Invocata itaque primo, ut par est, in auxilium Divinitate, filiam pacifici regis, gloriosi regis, divitis regis, boni regis, et nostro tempore

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[1] *Exercita.*] *E.*; exercitata, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Prædicto.*] *E.*; præterito, *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Jus.*] *S. D.*; omitted in *E.* and 'examen' in the margin.

incomparabilis, in Angliæ Normanniæque dominam eligimus, et ei fidem et manutenementum promittimus.'

QUOMODO LONDONIENSES IN CONCILIO.

§ 45. Cumque omnes præsentes vel modeste acclamassent sententiæ, vel silentes non contradixissent, subjecit [1] legatus: 'Londonienses (qui sunt quasi optimates, pro magnitudine civitatis, in Anglia) nunciis nostris convenimus, et conductum ut tuto veniant misimus, eosque confido non ultra hunc diem moraturos: bona venia usque cras sustineamus.' The Londoners summoned to the council.

§ 46. Feria quarta venerunt Londonienses, et, in concilium introducti, causam suam eatenus egerunt ut dicerent, missos se a communione quam vocant Londoniarum, non certamina sed preces [2] offerre, ut dominus suus rex de captione liberaretur. Hoc omnes barones, qui in eorum communionem jamdudum recepti fuerant, summopere flagitare a domino legato, et ab archiepiscopo, simulque ab omni clero qui præsens erat. Responsum est eis a legato ubertim et splendide; et, quo minus fieret quod rogabant, eadem oratio quæ pridie habita. Adjectum quinetiam, 'Non decere ut Londonienses, qui præcipui habebantur in Anglia sicut proceres, illorum partes foverent qui dominum suum in bello reliquerant, quorum consilio idem sanctam ecclesiam exhonoraverat, qui postremo non ob aliud ipsis Londoniensibus favere videbantur nisi ut eos pecuniis emungerent.' They arrive. April 9.

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[1] *Legatus.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Offerre.*] *E.*; afferre, *S. D. L* 2.

DE CLERICO REGINÆ.

§ 47. Interea surrexit quidam, cujus nomen, si bene memini, Christianus, reginæ (ut audivi) clericus, porrexitque chartam legato; qua ille sub silentio lecta, voce quantum potuit exaltata dixit non esse legitimam, [1] neque deberet in tanto, præsertimque sublimium et religiosarum personarum, conventu recitari. Præter cætera enim quæ reprehensibilia et notabilia erant scripta, testem appositum qui præterito anno, in eodem quo tunc sedebant capitulo, venerabiles episcopos maxima verborum affecerit contumelia. Ita illo tricante, clericus legationi suæ non defuit, sed præclara fiducia literas legit in audientia, quarum hæc erat summa: 'Rogabat regina obnixe omnem clerum congregatum, et nuncupatim episcopum Wintoniæ fratrem domini sui, ut eundem dominum regno restituerent, quem iniqui viri, qui etiam homines sui essent, in vincula conjecissent.' Huic suggestioni retulit legatus verba in eandem sententiam qua et Londoniensibus. Illi, communicato consilio, dixerunt se decretum concilii convicaneis suis relaturos, et favorem suum quantum possent præstituros. Feria quinta solutum est concilium, excommunicatis ante multis qui regiarum erant partium; nominatim Willelmo Martello, qui quondam pincerna regis Henrici, tunc dapifer Stephani. Iste immaniter exulceraverat legati animum, multis rebus ejus interceptis et subreptis.

The council breaks up. April 10.

QUOMODO IMPERATRIX A LONDONIENSIBUS RECEPTA SIT.

Reception of the empress by the Londoners.

§ 48. Itaque multæ fuit molis Londoniensium animos permulcere posse, ut, cum hæc statim

[1] *Neque.*] *E.*; ne quæ, *S. D. L 2.*

post Pascha (ut dixi) fuerint actitata, vix paucis ante Nativitatem beati Johannis diebus imperatricem reciperent. Pleraque tunc pars Angliæ [1]dominatum ejus suspiciebat; frater ejus Robertus assiduus circa eam omnibus quibus decebat modis ejus gloriam exaltare, proceres benigne appellando, multa pollicendo, diversas partes vel terrendo, vel etiam per internuncios ad pacem sollicitando, jam jamque in omnibus partibus imperatrici faventibus justitiam, et patrias leges, et pacem reformando. Satisque constat quod, si ejus moderationi et sapientiæ a suis esset creditum, non tam sinistrum postea sensissent aleæ casum. Aderat et dominus legatus sedula, ut videbatur, fide imperatricis commodis præsto. Sed ecce, dum ipsa putaretur omni Anglia statim posse potiri, mutata omnia. Londonienses, semper suspecti, et intra se frementes, tunc in aperti odii vocem eruperunt; insidiis etiam (ut fertur) dominam ejusque comites appetiverunt. Quibus illi præcognitis et vitatis, sensim sine tumultu quadam militari disciplina urbe cesserunt. Comitati sunt imperatricem legatus, et rex Scotiæ David avunculus ejusdem viraginis, et frater ejus Robertus, in omnibus ut semper, sic et tunc, fortunarum sororis socius, et (ut de compendio dicam) partium ejus omnes ad unum incolumes. Londonienses, cognito eorum abscessu, in hospitia involant, quicquid rerum pro festinatione relictum erat abradentes.

DE DISCORDIA IMPERATRICIS ET LEGATI.

Breach between the empress and the legate.

§ 49. Nec multis post diebus surrexit simultas inter legatum et imperatricem, quem casum vere

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[1] *Dominatum ejus suspiciebat.*] suscipiebat, *S. D.*; dignanter *E* 1.; dignanter dominatum ejus dominatum ejus suspiciebat, *L* 2.

possum dicere fomitem omnium malorum rursum in Anglia fuisse: quod [1] quatinus acciderit, expediam. Habebat rex Stephanus, Eustachium nomine, ex filia Eustachii comitis Bononiensis, susceptum filium. Rex enim Henricus, pater imperatricis, (ut altius repetam, ne veritas gestorum lateat posteros,) sororem uxoris suæ, matris istius dominæ, Mariam nomine, nuptum dederat prædicto comiti, quod esset is et amplis majoribus ortus, simulque prudentia et fortitudine juxta insignis. Ex Maria Eustachius nihil liberorum tulit, præter filiam Matildem vocabulo. Hanc, patre defuncto, nubilem idem magnificentissimus rex Stephano nepoti legitimo matrimonio copulavit, et pariter Bononiensem comitatum industrie acquisivit; nam antea Moritoliensem in Normannia ex suo dederat. Hos comitatus nepoti suo quem nominavi, Eustachio, legatus jure dandos destinaverat dum pater in captione teneretur; imperatrice prorsus abnuente, incertum an aliis etiam promittente. Qua ille offensus injuria, multis diebus ab ejus abstinuit curia, et, quamvis sæpe revocaretur, negare perseveravit. Interea familiare apud Geldeford cum regina, fratris uxore, colloquium habuit, ejusque lachrymis et satisfactione infractus ad liberationem germani animum intendit; omnes etiam illius partis quos in concilio excommunicaverat, inconsultis episcopis, absolvit. Ferebantur et per Angliam ejus in imperatricem querelæ: quod eum capere voluerit; quod quicquid ei juraverat pro nihilo habuerit; omnes barones Angliæ fidem suam circa eam implesse, sed ipsam temerasse, quæ acquisitis uti modeste nesciret.

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[1] *Quatinus.*] *E.*; qualiter, *S. D. L2.*

QUOMODO COMES GLOECESTRENSIS LEGATUM CONVENERIT CUM IMPERATRICE ET COADJUTORIBUS SUIS.

The earl of Gloucester attempts to allay the commotions.

§ 50. Ad hos motus, si posset, componendos comes Gloecestrensis non adeo denso comitatu Wintoniam contendit; sed re infecta ad Oxeneford rediit, ubi soror stativa mansione jamdudum se continuerat. Ipsa itaque, et ex his quæ continue audiebat et a fratre tunc cognovit, nihil legatum molle ad suas partes cogitare intelligens, Wintoniam cum quanto potuit apparatu venit. Illic intra castellum regium sine cunctatione recepta, bona forsitan mente per nuncios episcopum convenit, ut, quia ipsa præsens erat, non pigritaretur ad eam venire: ille, non integrum sibi fore arbitratus si veniret, ambiguo responso nuncios elusit, hoc [1]tamen verbo, 'Ego parabo me;' statimque propter omnes misit quos regi [2]fauturos sciebat. Venerunt ergo fere omnes comites Angliæ; erant enim juvenes et leves, et qui mallent equitationum discursus quam pacem. Præterea plures illorum, confusi quia regem bellantem, ut superius dictum est, deseruerant, conventu illo fugæ suæ opprobrium lenire conabantur. Pauci vero cum imperatrice [3]venerant: rex Scotiæ David, Robertus comes Gloecestræ, Milo de Hereford, et barones pauci; Reinnulfus [4]enim comes Cestriæ tarde et inutiliter advenit. Ut ergo magnam seriem rerum brevi verborum compendio explicem: a regina, et comitibus qui venerant, undique foras muros Wintoniæ observatæ sunt viæ, ne victualia impera-

[1] *Tamen.*] *E.*; tantum, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Fauturos.*] *E.*; fautores, *S.D. L* 2.

[3] *Venerant.*] *E. L* 2.; convenerant, *S. D.*

[4] *Enim.*] *S. D.*; omitted in *E. L* 2.

Andover burnt.

tricis fidelibus inferrentur; Andevera etiam vicus incensus. Ab occidente itaque raro et anguste importabantur necessaria, viatoribus nonnullis interceptis vel occisis, vel parte membrorum mutilatis: ab oriente vero toto tramite versus Londoniam constipabantur semitæ multitudine commeatuum, episcopo et suis importandorum; [1]Gaufrido de Mandevilla, qui jam iterum auxilio eorum cesserat, antea enim post captionem regis imperatrici fidelitatem juraverat, et Londoniensibus maxime annitentibus, nihilque omnino quod possent prætermittentibus quo imperatricem contristarent. Wintonienses porro vel tacito ei favebant judicio, memores fidei quam ei pacti fuerant cum inviti propemodum ab episcopo ad hoc adacti essent. Interea ex turre pontificis jaculatum incendium in domos burgensium (qui, ut dixi, proniores erant imperatricis felicitati quam episcopi) comprehendit et combussit abbatiam totam sanctimonialium intra urbem, simulque [2]cœnobium quod dicitur Ad Hidam extra. Erat ibi imago crucifixi Domini magna mole auri et argenti, simulque gemmarum, [3]dono Cnutonis quondam regis operosa devotione fabrefacta: hæc, igne tunc comprehensa et solo prostrata, post etiam jubente legato excrustata est. Inventæ plusquam quingentæ argenti marcæ, auri triginta, donativo militum profecere. Combusta est etiam abbatia sanctimonialium de Warewella a quodam Willelmo de Ipra, homine nefando, qui nec Deo nec hominibus reverentiam observaret, quod in ea quidam imperatricis fautores se contutati essent.

Hide monastery burnt.

Warewell abbey burnt.

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[1] *Gaufrido de Mandevilla . . . juraverat.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. C. D. K. L* 2.

[2] *Cœnobium.*] *E.*; cœnobium monachorum, *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Dono.*] *S. E. L* 2.; ex dono, *D.*

DE DISCESSU COMITIS GLOECESTRÆ A WINTONIA ET CAPTIONE SUA.

§ 51. Comes [1] Gloecestræ interea, quamvis quotidiano regiorum prælio cum suis afflictaretur, minusque quam cogitaret res ex sententia cederet, semper tamen ab incendio ecclesiarum temperandum putavit, quamvis in vicino sancti Swithuni hospitatus esset. Veruntamen indignitatem rei ultra non ferens, se suosque pene obsideri, et fortunam in alteros declinare, cedendum tempori ratus, compositis ordinibus discessionem paravit. Itaque in primo agmine ut libere abiret sororem præmittens cum reliquis, ipse cum paucis qui auderent animis multos non timere, lente progrediebatur. Quapropter comitibus [2] regiis confestim insecutis, dum et ipse fugere pudori et citra dignitatem suam æstimat, et solus ab omnibus præcipue impetitur, captus est. Cæteri cœptum iter, proceres præsertim, continuare; summaque cum festinatione Divisas pervenerunt. Sic a Wintonia die sanctæ Crucis Exaltationis, quæ tunc habebatur in Dominica, discessum; cum illuc paucis ante Assumptionem beatæ Dei [3] genitricis diebus ventum fuisset. Nonnullique miraculi exemplum et multorum materia sermonum fuit in Anglia, quod sicut rex Dominica in dominæ nostræ Purificatione, [4] ita comes Dominica in vivificæ Crucis Exaltatione, unam eandemque sortem experti sunt. Illud vero percelebre magnificumque fuit, quod pro isto eventu nemo comitem Gloecestræ vel infractum mente, vel etiam

Retreat of the earl of Gloucester from Winchester.

Sept. 14.

Capture of the earl of Gloucester.

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[1] *Gloecestræ.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Regiis.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Genitricis.*] *S. E. L* 2.; genitricis Mariæ, *D.*

[4] *Ita comes Dominica in vivificæ Crucis Exaltatione.*] *S. D. L* 2.; omitted in *E.*

tristem vultu, viderit; ita conscientiam altæ nobilitatis spirabat, ne se fortunæ ludibrio subjiceret. Quamvis enim primo blanditiis invitatus, post etiam minis lacesseretur, nunquam tamen inflexus est ut de liberatione sua præter [1]consensum sororis tractaretur. Ad ultimum eo modo res ventilata, ut æquis conditionibus et rex et ipse absolverentur; nullo pacto alio interveniente, nisi ut quisque partes suas pro posse, sicut [2]et prius, tutaretur. Hæc ab Exaltatione sanctæ Crucis usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum plurimo verborum agmine sæpe versata, tunc demum debito fine conclusa; ea enim die rex eluctatus captionem. In eadem apud Bristou reginam suam et filium cum duobus magnatibus reliquit, vades liberandi comitis continuo cum festinato itinere rex Wintoniam venisset; ibi enim asservabatur comes, reductus a Rovecestra, quo prius abductus fuerat. Tertio die, mox ut rex Wintoniam venit, comes abscessit; dimisso ibi, quousque regina absolveretur, in [3]eodem obsidatu filio suo Willelmo. Celeriter igitur permensa via, Bristou veniens reginam absolvit; cujus reditu Willelmus filius comitis ab obsidatu liberatur. Satis autem constat, toto tempore captionis, sequentibusque mensibus usque ad Natale, multis et magnis pollicitationibus sollicitatum ut a sorore desciscceret, pluris semper pietatem germanitatis [4]quam quaslibet promissiones fecisse: nam et relictis rebus castellisque suis, quibus commode frui posset, circa germanam sedulo apud Oxeneford mansitabat; quo loco, ut præfatus sum, illa sedem sibi constituens, curiam fecerat.

The king and the earl mutually released.

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[1] *Consensum.*] *E.*; conscientiam, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Et prius.*] *E.*; prius, *S. L* 2.; superius, *D.*

[3] *Eodem.*] *E. L* 2.; eodem die, *S. D.*

[4] *Quam quaslibet.*] *S. E. L* 2.; quas qualibet, *D.*

DE CONCILIO QUO LEGATUS TENTAVIT LENIRE CAUSAM RECEPTIONIS IMPERATRICIS IN DOMINAM.

§ 52. Interea legatus, immodici animi pontifex, qui quod semel proposuisset non ineffectum relinquere vellet, concilium pro jure legationis suæ apud Westmonasterium die octavarum sancti Andreæ coegit. Ejus concilii actionem non ita exacta fide pronuncio ut superioris, quia non interfui. Auditum est lectas in eo literas domini apostolici, quibus modeste legatum argueret quod liberare fratrem suum dissimulasset. Delicti tamen superioris gratiam facere; et magnopere cohortari, ut quocunque modo, vel ecclesiastico vel seculari, posset, ad germani liberationem accingeretur. Regem ipsum in concilium introisse, et apud sanctum conventum querimoniam deposuisse, quod homines sui et eum ceperint, et afflictione contumeliarum paulo minus extinxerint, qui justitiam eis nunquam negasset. Ipsum legatum magnis eloquentiæ viribus factorum suorum invidiam tentasse alleviare: 'quod scilicet imperatricem non voluntate sed necessitate recepisset, quippe cum recenti adhuc fratris sui clade (omnibus comitibus vel fugatis, vel eventum rei suspecta mente præstolantibus,) ipsa cum suis muros Wintoniæ circumsonasset, ipsam quæcunque pepigerat ad ecclesiarum jus pertinentia obstinate fregisse. Quin etiam certis auctoribus ad se delatum eam et suos non solum dignitati suæ, sed et vitæ, struxisse insidias: cæterum, Deum pro sua clementia secus quam ipsa sperasset vertisse negotia, ut et ipse perniciem vitaret, et fratrem suum vinculis eximeret. Itaque jubere se de parte Dei et apostolici, ut regem, voluntate populi et assensu sedis apostolicæ inunctum, quan-

Council at Westminster Dec. 7.

The king present at the council.

The legate attempts to extenuate the odium of his conduct.

Commands all men to obey the king.

tis possent viribus enixe juvarent; turbatores vero pacis, qui comitissæ Andegavensi faverent, ad excommunicationem vocandos, præter eam quæ Andegavorum domina esset.'

QUOMODO QUIDAM FAUTOR IMPERATRICIS LOCUTUS FUIT PRO IMPERATRICE.

A layman from the empress forbids the legate to ordain anything repugnant to her honour.

§ 53. Hæc ejus verba non dico quod [1]omnes gratis animis exceperint, certe nullus expugnavit; [2]omnes clerici vel metu vel reverentia frænarunt ora. Unus fuit laicus, imperatricis nuncius, qui palam legato interdixit, ne, per fidem quam ei pactus fuerat, quicquam in illo concilio statueret quod ejus honori adversum foret: fidem ab eo [3]hanc imperatrici factam, ne fratrem suum ullo auxilio [4]juvaret, nisi forte viginti [5]ei milites, nec plures, mitteret. Quod in Angliam ipsa venisset, frequentibus epistolis ejus factum: quod regem cepisset, quod in captione tenuisset, ipso potissimum connivente actum. [6]Dixit hæc et alia pleraque magna verborum austeritate, nihil omnino legato blanditus: nec vero ullo sermonum pondere ille moveri potuit ut iram proderet, semel incepti (ut prius dixi) sui non segnis executor. Fuit ergo hic annus (cujus tragœdias compendio digessi) fatalis et pene perniciosus Angliæ; in quo, cum aliquo modo sibi ad libertatem respirandam putasset, rursum in ærumnam recidit, et, nisi Dei misericordia mature occurrat, diu hærebit.

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[1] *Omnes.*] *E.*; omnes clerici, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Omnes clerici vel metu vel reverentia.*] *E.*; omnes metu vel reverentia, *D.*; omnes vel metu vel reverentia, *S. L* 2.

[3] *Hanc.*] *S. D. L* 2.; omitted in *E.*

[4] *Juvaret.*] *S. E. L* 2.; adjuvaret, *D.*

[5] *Ei.*] *S. D. L* 2.; omitted in *E.*

[6] *Dixit.*] *E.*; Dixit nuncius, *S. D. L* 2.

RECAPITULATIO DE COMITE GLOECESTRÆ.

§ 54. Principia gestorum hujus anni, qui est incarnationis Dominicæ millesimus centesimus quadragesimus tertius, ex reliquis superioris anni successit animo resarcire; simulque summam rerum quæ de Roberto filio regis Henrici comite Gloecestræ sparsim dicta sunt, quasi in fasciculum collectam, lectoris æstimationi per recapitulationem proponere. Ipse quippe sicut primus ad partes sororis suæ juste defendendas initium suscepit, ita semper invicto animo in incepto gratis perseveravit: gratis dico, quia nonnulli fautorum ejus, vel, fortunam sequentes, cum ejus volubilitate mutantur, vel, multa jam emolumenta consecuti, spe ampliorum præmiorum pro justitia pugnant. Solus vel pene solus Robertus, in neutram partem pronior, nec spe compendii, nec dispendii timore, unquam flexus est, sicut ex sequentibus liquebit. Non ergo alicui, si hæc integre scribo, adulationis surrepat suspicio; nihil enim a me dabitur gratiæ, sed sola veritas historiæ sine ullo fuco mendacii posterorum producetur notitiæ.

A.D. 1143. Recapitulation of the earl of Gloucester's conduct.

§ 55. Dictum est de comite quo modo primus [1]omnium post David regem Scotiæ, præsente patre Henrico, fidelitatem sorori suæ imperatrici de regno Angliæ et ducatu Normanniæ sacramento firmavit: nonnulla (ut dixi) contentione inter eum et Stephanum tunc Bononiæ comitem, postmodum Angliæ regem, quisnam prior sacramentum faceret; Roberto excellentiam filii, Stephano dignitatem nepotis, defendentibus.

§ 56. Dictum est etiam quam rationabiles eum

[1] *Omnium.*] *E.*; omnium primatum, *S. D. L* 2. — Malmesbury, however, has before stated that Stephen preceded Robert in taking the oath to Matilda.

Recapitulation of the earl of Gloucester's conduct.

causæ a Decembri, quo pater defunctus est, usque post sequens Pascha, in Normannia continuerint, ne statim in Angliam veniens sororis injurias vindicaret. Postremo veniens, quam prudenti consilio et qua exceptione ad hominium regis se inclinaverit, et quam juste idem sequenti anno et deinceps abjecerit.

§ 57. Nec est prætermissus secundus ejus post mortem patris a Normannia in Angliam cum sorore adventus; in quam se sicut in quandam sylvam frementium belluarum immersit, Dei quidem gratia et animi confidentia fretus, sed vix centum et quadraginta militibus stipatus. Sed nec illud tacitum, quod in tanto motu bellorum, cum sollicitæ ubique prætenderentur excubiæ, cum solis duodecim militibus impigre ad Bristou venit; sorore interim apud Arundellum fida, ut putabat, custodia commissa. Qua prudentia et tunc sororem suam e mediis hostibus ad se receperit, et postmodum in omnibus pro posse provexerit; semper circa eam conversatus, ipsius commoda procurans, sua postponens, cum quĩdam abutentes ejus absentia terras ipsius undique vellicarent. Ad postremum, qua necessitate adductus, ut generum suum, quem rex incluserat, periculo eximeret, bello gravi se dederit regemque ceperit. Sed tam felicem eventum captio [1]ejus apud Wintoniam, ut in superioris anni gestis perstrinxi, paulo minus [2]delinavit; quanquam ea captione non tam miserandum quam laudandum se ipse per Dei gratiam exhibuerit: cum enim videret regios comites ita obstinatos ad persequendum ut sine suorum detrimento res transigi nequiret, omnes quibus timebat, nominatimque

[1] *Ejus.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Delinavit.*] *E.*; decoloravit, *S. D. L* 2.

imperatricem, præmisit; quibus [1]prætergressis, ut jam tuto possent evadere, ipse sensim equitans, ne similis fugæ profectio putaretur, admisit in se persequentium manus, amicorum liberationem impedimento suo mercatus. Jam vero in ipsa captione nemo eum (ut ante dixi) vel sensit dejectum animo, vel audivit humilem in verbo: adeo supra fortunam eminere videbatur, ut persecutores suos (nolo enim dicere hostes) ad reverentiam sui excitaret. Itaque regina, quæ licet meminisset virum suum ejus jussu fuisse compeditum, nihil ei unquam vinculorum inferri permisit, nec quicquam inhonestum de sua majestate præsumpsit: denique apud Rovecestram (illuc quippe ductus fuit) libere ad ecclesias infra castellum quo libebat ibat; et quibus libebat loquebatur, ipsa duntaxat regina præsente: nam post profectionem ejus in turrim sub libera custodia ductus est, adeo præsenti et securo animo ut ab hominibus suis de Cantia accepta pecunia equos non parvi pretii compararet, qui ei post aliquanto tempore et usui et commodo fuere.

Recapitulation of the earl of Gloucester's conduct.

DE LIBERATIONE REGIS.

§ 58. Tentavere primo comites, et hi quorum intererat de talibus loqui, si forte regem et se sineret æquis conditionibus liberari. Hoc quamvis Mabilla comitissa præ desiderio viri sui [2]dilecti statim amplexa nunciis acceptis esset, in ejus liberationem conjugali charitate propensior, ille profundiori consilio contradixit, regem et comitem non æqualis ponderis esse asseverans: cæterum, si permitterent omnes qui vel secum vel sui causa capti essent liberari, id se posse pati.

[1] *Prætergressis.*] *E.*; prægressis, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Dilecti.*] *E.*; omitted in *S.D. L* 2.

Recapitulation of the earl of Gloucester's conduct.

Sed noluerunt assentiri comites, et alii qui regalium partium erant; regem quidem liberari cupientes, sed citra suas in pecuniæ amissione jacturas: nam et Gillebertus comes Willelmum de Salesbiria, Willelmus de Ipra Hunfridum de Bohun, et nonnulli alii quos potuerant, Wintoniæ ceperant, multis in eorum redemptione marcis inhiantes.

QUOMODO TENTATUM EST COMITEM GLOECESTRÆ POSSE INFLECTI IN PARTES REGIS.

§ 59. Itaque alia via comitem adorsi, promissis ingentibus, si forte possent, illicere cupiebant. Concederet, sorore dimissa, in partes regis, habiturus proinde totius terræ dominatum, ut ad ipsius arbitrium penderent omnia; essetque in sola corona rege inferior, cæteris omnibus pro velle principaturus. Repulit comes immensas promissiones memorabili responso, quod posteritas audiat et miretur volo: 'Non sum,' inquit, 'meus, sed alieni juris: cum meæ potestatis me videro, quicquid ratio de re quam allegatis dictaverit, facturum me respondeo.'

§ 60. Tum illi concitatiores et nonnihil moti, cum blanditiis nihil promoverent, minas intentare cœperunt, quod eum ultra mare in Bononiam mitterent, perpetuis vinculis usque ad mortem innodandum. Enimvero ille, minas sereno vultu dissolvens, nihil minus se timere protestatus est constanter et vere: confidebat enim in magnanimitate comitissæ, uxoris suæ [1]scilicet, et animositate suorum, qui statim regem in Hiberniam mitterent, si quid perperam in comitem factum audissent.

§ 61. Transiit in his mensis, tantæ molis erat

[1] *Scilicet.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

liberari posse principes quos fortuna sua innexuisset catena. Tandem porro communicato consilio, quicunque imperatrici favebant, crebris legationibus comitem conveniunt, ut quia non posset quod vellet, secundum comici dictum, vellet quod posset: pateretur ergo regem et se liberari mutuis conditionibus; 'alioquin timemus,' aiebant, 'ne comites facti sui maximi et præclarissimi, quo te ceperunt, erecti conscientia, unos et unos ex nobis invadant, castella expugnent, ipsam sororem tuam [1]obsidiant.'

Recapitulation of the earl of Gloucester's conduct.

§ 62. Tum demum Robertus mollitus legato et archiepiscopo assensit; ita tamen, ne quicquam castellorum vel terrarum redderetur quod post regis captionem in jus imperatricis vel quorumque fidelium ejus transierat. Illud sane nullo potuit obtinere modo quatenus sui secum liberarentur; offensis videlicet aliis, quod tantas eorum promissiones de principatu totius regni, quodam quasi fastu fastidiens, repudiaverat. Et quia maxime annitebantur ut, propter regiam dignitatem, primo rex liberaretur, [2]deinceps comes; cum id ille dubitaret concedere, firmaverunt jurejurando legatus et archiepiscopus, quod, si rex post liberationem suam detrectaret comitem liberare, ipsi se in captionem comitis incunctanter injicerent, quocunque ipsi libuisset abducendi.

§ 63. Nec adhuc quievit, sed, præter hæc, quo sibi provideret sagax animus invenit: posset nempe fieri ut rex, malorum, quod sæpe fit, præventus consilio, captionem fratris sui et archiepiscopi parvi duceret dummodo ipse liber in pluma jaceret. Exegit ergo ab utroque sigillatim brevia et sigilla sua ad apostolicum in hunc sensum;

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[1] *Obsidiant.*] *E.*; oppugnent, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Deinceps.*] *E.*; deinde, *S. D. L* 2.

Recapitulation of the earl of Gloucester's conduct.

'Sciret dominus apostolicus eos ob regis liberationem et regni pacem hoc se pacto comiti astrinxisse, quod, si eum rex post suam ipsius liberationem liberare dissimularet, ipsi ultro se in captionem ipsius immitterent. Quapropter, si ad hoc infortunium perventum foret, obnixe rogare (quod apostolicæ humanitatis esset sponte facere) ut et eos qui suffraganei ipsius erant, et comitem pariter, ab indebitis nexibus exueret;' et quædam talia.

§ 64. Hæc scripta Robertus ab utrisque pontificibus recepta tuto loco deposuit; et Wintoniam cum eisdem, simulque magna baronum copia, venit. Rex quoque, ut in præteritis dictum est, non multo post eodem veniens, familiare colloquium cum comite communicavit: sed quamvis et ipse rex, et cuncti principes qui aderant, magno annisu satagerent comitem in sua vota traducere, ille, velut pelagi rupes immota resistens, omnes eorum conatus vel irritos fecit, vel rationabiliter compescuit: 'Non esse rationis,' dicens, 'sed nec humanitatis, ut sororem suam desereret, cujus partes juste defendendas suscepisset: nullius commodi causa, nec tam regis odio quam sacramenti sui respectu, quod violare nefas esse ipsi quoque deberent attendere, præsertim cum ab apostolico sibi mandatum meminisset ut sacramento quod sorori, præsente patre, fecerat, obedientiam exhiberet.' Ita infecta pace ab utrisque discessum.

The author's reasons for not incorporating certain events with the transactions of the former year.

§ 65. Hæc ideo [1] sic in superioris anni gestis non apposui, quia clam conscientia mea erant: semper quippe horrori habui aliquid ad posteros transmittendum stylo committere, quod nescirem

[1] *Sic.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

solida veritate subsistere. Ea porro, quæ de præsenti anno dicenda sunt, hoc habebunt principium.

TRACTATUS UT PRO COMITE ANDEGAVENSE MITTERETUR.

§ 66. Utræque partes, imperatricis et regis, se cum quietis modestia egerunt a Natali usque ad Quadragesimam, magis sua custodire quam aliena incursare studentes: rex in superiores regiones abscessit, nescio quæ compositurus. Superveniens Quadragesima omnibus [1]vacaturam bellorum indixit; qua mediante, imperatrix cum suis ad Divisas venit, illic mysterium consilii [2]cum suis habitura: quod tamen eatenus exiit in vulgus, ut sciretur omnibus fautoribus [3]ejus complacitum quatenus pro comite Andegavensi mitteretur, qui conjugis et filiorum hæreditatem in Anglia jure defensitare deberet. Missi sunt ergo spectabiles viri, et qui merito tantæ rei curam exequerentur. Designs of the empress.

DE INFIRMITATE REGIS.

§ 67. Non multo post, in ipsis [4]Paschalibus feriis, regem, quædam (ut aiunt) dura meditantem, gravis incommodum morbi apud Northamptunam detinuit, adeo ut in tota propemodum Anglia sicut mortuus conclamaretur. Duravit improspera valetudo usque post Pentecosten; tunc enim sensim refusus salutis vigor eum in pedes erexit. Indisposition of the king.

§ 68. Interim nuncii ex Andegavis redeuntes, iterato apud Divisas in ipsis octavis Pentecostes

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[1] *Vacaturam.*] Vacaturam *vel* cessationem, *E.*; vacationem, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Cum suis habitura.*] *E.*; sui habitura, *D.*; sui habitum, *S. L* 2.

[3] *Ejus.*] *E. L* 2.; omitted in *S. D.*

[4] *Paschalibus.*] *E.*; pene Paschalibus, *S. D. L* 2.

coacto concilio, imperatrici et principibus audita reportant: 'Comitem Andegavensem legationibus procerum nonnulla ex parte favere; cæterum, solum ex omnibus comitem Gloecestrensem [1] cognoscere, ejusque prudentiam ac fidem, magnanimitatem et industriam, probatam jam olim habuisse. Is si ad se transito mari adveniat, voluntati ejus se pro posse non defuturum; alioquin cæteros in eundo et redeundo frustra laborem consumpturos.'

QUOMODO COMES GLOECESTRÆ AD COMITEM ANDEGAVENSEM IERIT.

The earl of Gloucester entreated to go to the earl of Anjou.

§ 69. Ita omnium audientium spebus erectis, ad comitem preces versæ, ut hunc laborem pro sororis et nepotum hæreditate dignaretur. Dissimulavit ille primo, difficilem rem prætendens: suspectum per confertissimos hostes iter citra et ultra mare; periculosum sorori, quam in absentia ejus alii ægre tuerentur, qui eam in captione sua pene reliquerant, rebus ipsi suis diffisi. Favens tandem omnium unanimi voluntati, obsides poposcit sigillatim ab his qui optimates videbantur, secum in Normanniam ducendos, vadesque futuros tam comiti Andegavensi [2] quam imperatrici, quod omnes junctis umbonibus ab ea, dum ipse abesset, injurias propulsarent, [3] vicibus suis apud Oxeneford manentes. Acclamatum est sententiæ, datique obsides Normanniam ducendi.

QUOMODO COMES ANDEGAVENSIS AUXILIO COMITIS GLOECESTRÆ DECEM CASTELLA IN NORMANNIA CEPERIT.

His departure for Normandy.

§ 70. Robertus ergo valefaciens sorori, ductis

[1] *Cognoscere.*] *E. L* 2.; recognoscere, *S. D.*

[2] *Quam.*] *E. L* 2.; quam etiam, *S. D.*

[3] *Vicibus.*] *D. E. L* 2.; viribus, *S.*

secum obsidibus, cum expeditis militibus per tuta hospitia ad Waram profectus est, quem vicum cum castello jamdudum commiserat filio suo primogenito Willelmo. Ibi aliquanto post festum sancti Johannis alto se per Dei gratiam committens, naves quas tunc habebat solvit. Quæ fere in medium mare delatæ, omnes præter duas tempestate coorta in diversa jactatæ; quædamque retro versæ, quædam ultra destinatum propulsæ sunt: duæ solummodo, in quarum una comes cum fidissimis erat, rectum cursum tenentes, in idoneam stationem appulerunt. Veniens itaque Cadomum, comitem Andegavensem per nuncios accersivit. Venit ille non aspernanter, sed auditæ legationi sua impedimenta, et ea multa, objecit: inter quæ, quod rebellione multorum castellorum in Normannia detineretur quo minus in Angliam veniret. Ea res moras redeundi comiti Gloecestrensi ultra placitum innexuit: nam ut Andegavensem omni occasione nudaret, cum eo decem castella expugnavit in Normannia, [1]quorum hæc sunt vocabula, Tenerchebrai, Seithilaret, Brichesart, [2]Alani, Bastonborg, Triveres, Castel de Vira, Plaiseiz, Vilers, Moretoin. Sed propemodum nihil quantum ad legationem hac promovit industria; Andegavensis enim comes et alias occasiones, prioribus solutis, substituit, quibus in Angliam adventum excusaret suum. Magni sane loco beneficii filium suum ex imperatrice primogenitum avunculo concessit in Angliam deducendum, cujus intuitu proceres justi hæredis partes propugnare animarentur. Henricus vocatur puer, nomen avi referens: utinam felicitatem et potentiam quandoque relaturus.

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[1] *Quorum . . . Moretoin.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. C. D. K. L* 2.

[2] *Alani.*] *E* 1.; Alnai, *E* 2.

QUOMODO REX CEPIT WARAM, ABSENTE COMITE.

The king burns Wareham, and Oxford.

§ 71. Interea rex in Anglia, comitis absentiam aucupatus, subito ad Waram veniens, et [1]non bene munitum propugnatoribus offendens, [2]succensa et deprædata villa, statim etiam castello potitus est. Nec eo contentus (qui fortunam sibi aspirare videret), tribus diebus ante festum sancti Michaelis inopinato casu Oxeneford civitatem concremavit, et castellum, in quo cum domesticis militibus imperatrix erat, obsedit; ita scilicet offirmato animo, ut nullius spe commodi, nullius timore detrimenti, discedendum pronunciaret, nisi castello reddito, et imperatrice in ditionem suam redacta. [3]Mox igitur optimates quidem omnes imperatricis, confusi quia a domina sua præter statutum abfuerant, confertis cuneis ad Walengeford convenerunt, eo proposito ut regem bello impeterent si ipse in aperto campo martem experiri [4]vellet, sed eum intra civitatem aggredi consilium non fuit, quam ita comes Gloecestræ fossatis munierat, ut inexpugnabilis præter per incendium videretur.

DE REDITU COMITIS GLOECESTRÆ IN ANGLIAM.

The earl of Gloucester lands at Wareham.

§ 72. His rumoribus in [5]Anglia disseminatis, comes [6]Gloecestræ Robertus reditum maturavit. Trecentos itaque milites et aliquanto plures, quorum tamen numerus ad quadringentos non pervenit, navibus quinquaginta duabus imposuit;

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[1] *Non bene munitum.*] *E.*; vacuum, *S. D. K. L* 2.

[2] *Succensa et deprædata villa.*] *E.*; succenso et deprædato vico, *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Mox igitur optimates quidem omnes.*] *E.*; Mox optimates omnes, *S. D. L* 2.

[4] *Vellet.*] *E.*; voluisset, *S. D. L* 2.

[5] *Anglia.*] *E.*; Normannia, *S. D. L* 2.

[6] *Gloecestræ.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

his duas, quas redeundo in pelago expugnavit, adjunxit. Itaque piæ voluntati Deus [1]per gratiam sui egregie favit, ut nulla e tanto numero navium longius evagaretur; sed omnes, vel pariter junctis lateribus, vel leniter unæ ante alias progressæ, placida sulcarent maria. Nec vero violentia fluctuum navigia impetebat, sed quodam famulatu prosequebatur; sicut aspectus maris solet esse gratissimus, cum placidis allisa lapsibus alludit unda littoribus. In portum ergo Waram delatæ, [2]comitem et omnes socios desideriis suorum felices carinæ restituere.

QUOMODO COMES GLOECESTRÆ REDITU SUO WARAM CEPERIT.

§ 73. Cogitaverat primo ad Hamtunam appellere, ut dispendio [3]burgensium simul et domini eorum injurias suas ulcisceretur; sed flexerunt ejus impetum precibus multis Vituli, qui arctissimarum necessitudinum parentes, quos apud Hamtunam habebant, ærumnis cæterorum involvi timerent. Genus hominum nauticorum est quos Vitulos vocant; qui quia fidi clientes comitis sunt, preces eorum non negligendas arbitratus, cœpto destitit; simul et honoratius visum, ut in locum de quo egressus fuerat reverteretur, quod per violentiam amiserat vi recuperaturus. Statim ergo portu et vico in potestatem subactis, castellum obsedit, quod lectissimorum militum quos ibi rex locaverat munitione sua [4]confirmarat animositatem, ne dicam contumaciam. At enim paulo post milites, machinis comitis labefactati et consternati, petierunt indu-

Certain mariners called Vituli.

The earl of Gloucester besieges Wareham.

[1] *Per gratiam sui.*] *E.*; per suam gratiam, *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Comitem.*] *E.*; comites, *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Burgensium.*] *E.*; civium, *S. D. L* 2.

[4] *Confirmarat.*] *E.*; confirmabat, *S. D. L* 2.

cias ut, sicut moris est illorum hominum, efflagitarent a rege suppetias; die dicta, si forte venire negaret, castellum reddituri. Id, spe regem ab obsidione sororis abducendi, acceptissimum comiti fuit, quamvis impatienti desiderio castelli habendi teneretur; qua putamus animi confidentia, ut, nullo ex Anglia fultus adhuc auxilio, cum trecentis et paulo plus militibus regem intrepidus operiretur, qui mille milites et eo amplius habere ferebatur; multi enim non tam imperatricis odio quam aviditate prædæ ad obsidendum convolaverant.

QUOMODO COMES GLOECESTRÆ CONGREGATO EXERCITU TETENDIT AD LIBERANDAM IMPERATRICEM.

The isle of Portland and Lulleworth subdued.

§ 74. Veruntamen, cum relatum esset quod obsessis apud Waram a rege negaretur auxilium, ea scilicet obstinatione qua prædixi castellum recepit; eodemque impetu insulam Portland, quam incastellaverant, subegit; nec minus et tertium, cujus nomen Lulleworda, [1] quod Willelmi de Glastonia, cujusdam cubicularii, fuerat, qui nuper a fide imperatricis desciverat. Inde omnes fautores imperatricis ad Cirecestram convocavit, jam ingresso [2] adventu. Ibi igitur ad dominæ suæ succurrendum omnibus [3] suis viribus conspirati, profectionem ad Oxenefordum meditabantur; infensis mentibus cum rege, nisi abscederet, [4] præliatum iri. Enimvero jam progressis plausibile nuncium allatum est, egressam imperatricem ab obsesso castello Oxeneford, et apud

Escape of the empress from Oxford.

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[1] *Quod . . . desciverat.*] *E.*; armis perdomuit, *S. C. D. K. L* 2.

[2] *Adventu.*] *E.*; domini adventu, *S. D. L* 2.

[3] *Suis.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D.*

[4] *Præliatum iri.*] *S. D. L* 2.; præliaturum iri, *E.*

Wallengeford tuto manere. Illic ergo divertentes, ejusdem dominæ [1]suæ consilio, quia et milites qui ea exeunte remanserant, castello reddito, indemnes abierant, et sancti dies quiescere vel parum admonebant, bello abstinendum rati, ad sua quique sunt [2]reversi.

EXPLICIT LIBER TERTIUS NOVELLÆ HISTORIÆ.

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§ 75. Modum sane liberationis imperatricis gratanter apponerem, si pro certo compertum haberem. Est enim evidens Dei miraculum. Illud satis constat, quod, metu [3]adventantis comitis, obsessoribus plurimis apud Oxenèford, quo quisque poterat, dilapsis, reliqui laxiores custodias et remissiores excubias fecere; magis, si ad bellum veniretur, saluti suæ solliciti, quam aliorum exitio infesti. [4]Sed hæc in volumine sequenti, Deo volente, latius expedientur. Conclusion.

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[1] *Suæ.*] *E.*; omitted in *S. D. L* 2.

[2] *Reversi.*] The third book concludes here in *E.*; the other MSS. continue the work to the end without interruption.

[3] *Adventantis.*] *E.*; adveni-entis, *S. D. L* 2.

[4] *Sed hæc in volumine sequenti, Deo volente, latius expedientur.*] *E* 1. *E* 2. appears likewise to have ended here originally, the paragraph 'Qua re . . . accepero,' which in that MS. now follows the words 'exitio infesti,' being partly written over an erasure, in a later hand, and the sentence 'Sed ... expedientur,' supposed to have been erased, subjoined after 'accepero.' *S. C. D. G. K. L* 2. read 'Qua re ab oppidanis animadversa, imperatrix cum solis quatuor militibus per posterulam egressa amnem transiit. Mox, ut nonnunquam, et fere semper, necessitas et remedium excogitat et audaciam subministrat, pede Abbenduniam profecta, hinc ad Walingeford equo subvecta est. Quæ tamen latius persequi fert animus si unquam, dante Deo, ab his qui interfuere veritatem accepero.'

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Fitz-Hamon, Robert, remains faithful to Henry I. when deserted by the other nobles, 620; is wounded in the forehead in Normandy, and survives long in a state of mental derangement, 625; his splendid embellishment of the monastery at Tewkesbury, *ib.*; his daughter Mabil given by the king to his natural son, Robert earl of Gloucester, *ib.* note [1], and 692.
Fitz-Hubert, Robert, seizes the unfinished castle at Malmesbury, and burns the town, 726; is expelled thence by King Stephen, *ib.*; captures the castle at Devizes, and refuses to surrender it to the empress, 733; is taken prisoner, and hung, 734; his blasphemy and barbarity, 733.
Fitz-Osberne, William, sent by William of Normandy to observe the motions of Geoffrey Martel, 396; advises William to invade England, 431; is blamed by him for his prodigality to military men, *ib.*; his leniency to military offenders, *ib.*; is appointed guardian with King Philip of the children of Baldwin of Flanders, *ib.*; goes thither to suppress an insurrection, 432; is surprised and slain with his reigning ward by Robert le Frison, *ib.*
Flambard, Ralph, raised by Rufus to dignity from the lowest estate, 497; his rapacity and extortions, *ib.*; their demoralizing effects upon the nation, *ib.*; is imprisoned by Henry I, 619; escapes to Normandy, and incites Duke Robert to invade England, 620.
Flanders, Baldwin earl of, (father-in-law of the Conqueror,) 432; aids William with advice and soldiers in his invasion of England, 629; is said to have received in return an annual pension of 300 marks, *ib.*; the payment continued to his son Baldwin, but withheld from Robert le Frison, 630.
Flanders, Robert le Frison earl of, *see* Frison.
Flanders, Robert earl of, (son of Robert le Frison,) obtains from Rufus the yearly pension of 300 marks, which had been discontinued to his father by William the Conqueror, 630; on his return from the Crusade, is refused it by Henry I, *ib.*
Flanders, *see* Baldwin.
Forest, New, *see* New Forest.
Formosus, pope, in his pretended epistle, excommunicates Eadweard the Elder for allowing many sees to remain vacant, 203.
Foulques III. (of Anjou), his treachery to the earl of Maine, 401; compels his refractory son to a degrading submission, *ib.*; makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 402; severity of his self-imposed penance, *ib.*
France, succession of the kings of, to

Hugh Capet, 95—101; from Louis I. to Henry I, 153—168.
Franks, origin of, 95; their high character, 146.
Frea, wife of Woden, 11.
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Frideswide, St. church of at Oxford burnt, 297.
Frison, Robert le, marries Gertrude widow of Florence duke of Friezeland, 431. 573; supports the succession of his son-in-law Theodoric, 573; is expelled by Godfrey Bocard, who seizes the duchy, *ib.*; re-establishes his son-in-law, on the murder of Bocard, *ib.*; rescues the Flemings from the oppression of his nephew Arnulph and his mother, 432; surprises and kills Arnulph and his guardian William Fitz-Osberne, *ib.*; becomes earl of Flanders, *ib.*; irritates William by his ravages in Normandy, *ib.*; marries his daughter to Cnut IV. of Denmark, and gives his step-daughter to King Philip of France, *ib.*; goes in his old age to Jerusalem, 433; returns, and retires from the world, *ib.*; fate of his sons, *ib.*
Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, his character and works, 316. 465.
Fulcher of Chartres, chaplain of Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, 576.
Fulde, monastery of, 325-6; terrific circumstance there, 326; contagious disease at, 471.

G.

Gauls, their mode of expression, 44.
Gelasius II, pope, his letter to the French nation, detailing his contest with the emperor Henry V, 664; he is expelled by him from Rome, and dies at Cluni, 665.
Geoffrey, *see* Martel.
Geoffrey, bishop of Coutance, joins in Odo's conspiracy against William Rufus, 487; ravages, with his nephew Robert Mowbray, Bath, Berkeley, and part of Wiltshire, 488; is reconciled to the king, 490.
Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II.), *see* Legends.
Germain, St. bishop of Auxerre, 36; his miracles, 183.
Germany, why so called, 10; various emigrations from, *ib.*
Gildas said to have passed many years at Glastonbury, 33.
Girth, or Gurth, the son of Godwin, 342; his prudence, 413.
Gisle, or Giselle, daughter of Charles king of France, given in marriage to Rollo the Northman, 166. 405.
Gislebert, Count, guardian of William of Normandy, 392; his fidelity to his young charge, *ib.*; is slain by his kinsman Ralph, *ib.*
Glastonbury, history of the monastery of, 31—54; Malmesbury's history of, 50 *var. lect.*, 77; charters to, 227. 240. 315; misunderstanding between the abbot and his monks, 450; two of the monks killed, and several wounded, 451; the abbot banished by the Conqueror, *ib.*; but restored, after his death, on the payment of a sum of money, *ib.*
Gloucester, Robert earl of, natural son of Henry I, and born before he ascended the throne, 692; is married by him to Mabil daughter of Robert Fitz-Hamon, 625, note [1], and receives from him the earldom of Gloucester, 692; takes an oath to admit the succession of his sister the empress Maud, *ib.*; is present at his father's death, 701; his perplexity on the seizure of the kingdom by Stephen, 705; arrives in England, and does him homage conditionally, 707; on Stephen's departure for Normandy, follows him thither after a short interval, 710; is warned of snares laid for him by the king, and refrains from going to court, *ib.*; the king, in shame at the discovery, swears, in terms proposed by Robert, never to attempt a similar act, *ib.*; the earl remains in Normandy, to watch the course of public events, 711; by the advice of many religious men, and by the precept of the pope, he openly espouses his sister's cause, and sends messengers to Stephen to revoke his homage, 712; all his possessions in England, excepting Bristol, confiscated by the king, 713; the earl arrives at Arundel with his sister and one hundred and forty followers, 725; leaves her there in the care of her step-

mother Adela, and marches towards Bristol with twelve knights, 725. 758; is joined midway by his son Brian, and receives news of his sister's departure from Arundel under a safe-conduct from the king, 725; awaits her at the limits prescribed in the conduct, and receives her from the bishop of Winchester, *ib.*; takes her with him to Bristol, and places her afterwards in the care of Milo at Gloucester, *ib.*; he endeavours to keep those neutral whom he cannot gain over to her cause, 731; he takes several strongholds from the king, and appoints his brother Reginald earl of Cornwall, 732; he marches to the rescue of his daughter when besieged in the castle of Lincoln by the king, 741; routs the besiegers, and makes the king prisoner, *ib.*; his kindness to his captive, and severity towards the traitorous citizens, 742; joins the empress in her oath respecting the liberties of the church, 743; on her breach with the legate, attends her to a conference with that prelate at Winchester, 751; communications by the roads being cut off by the royalists, and the houses of the citizens fired, he determines to leave the place, 753; sends the empress forward with the main body of the troops, and follows slowly with a small force to prevent their being pursued, *ib.*; is overtaken by the royalists, and made a prisoner, *ib.*; honourable character of his captivity at Rochester, 759; he resists both allurements and threats to induce him to consent to be exchanged on equal terms with the king, but at length gives way to the entreaties of his friends, 760; his precautions to guard against a breach of faith, 761; in an interview with the king, declares that his opposition is grounded only on a regard for his oath, 762; is allowed to depart, and liberates the queen from custody at Bristol, 754; goes to Caen to solicit aid from the husband of the empress, who excuses himself on account of the distracted state of his country, 765; he remains with him a short time, and assists him in reducing ten castles, *ib.*; is again met with excuses, but receives from him his son Henry, to be conveyed by him to England, *ib.*; hastens his return, on hearing of the capture of Wareham, and his sister's danger in the castle at Oxford, 766; lands at Wareham, 767, and recovers the castle, 768; reduces the isle of Portland, and takes Lulleworth castle, *ib.*; assembles his adherents at Cirencester, and marches upon Oxford, *ib.*; on receiving news of his sister's escape to Wallingford, directs his course thither, 769; by the advice of the empress, the army is broken up, and the soldiers return to their several homes, *ib.*; enumeration of the attainments and good qualities of the earl, 682; the 'Historia Novella' written at his request by Malmesbury, 687, who also dedicated to him his 'Gesta Regum Anglorum,' *see* Dedication.

Gloucester, Roger de, slain by a shot from a crossbow at the siege of Falaise, 625.

Gloucester, Serlo abbot of, so modifies the rule of his house, that while an invalid might subscribe to it, a robust man should not be able to despise it, 674; verses of Prior Godfrey in his commendation, *ib.*

Goda, daughter of King Aethelberht, 336.

Godfrey Bocard (husband of Matilda 'Marcisa') expels Robert le Frison and Theodoric from Friezeland, and seizes the duchy, 573; is slain treacherously by the Flemings, *ib.*

Godfrey of Bouillon, son of Eustace II. of Boulogne, 572; is descended through his mother Ida from Charlemagne, 534. 572; is encouraged by her to seek for the attainment of Lorraine, 573; enters the service of the emperor, and obtains it as his reward, *ib.*; attends him in his expedition against Rome, *ib.*; opens an entrance to his followers through a large window in the city walls, *ib.*; is seized with a quartan fever from drinking wine, while heated, 574; makes a vow to go to the Holy Land, and recovers his strength, *ib.*; sets out on his expedition with the Frisons, Lorrainers, Saxons, and neighbouring people, 534; ar-

rives at Constantinople, 535; is induced to do homage to the emperor, 536; is present at the siege of Nice, *ib.*; fights two single combats with Turks during the siege of Antioch, and slays his adversaries, 574; kills also a lion which had attacked one of his soldiers, 575; leads the second squadron in the sortie made from the city, 558; is chosen king by the Christians on the capture of Jerusalem, 569; his eulogy, 571; is repulsed at Azotus, 588; return of his old malady, 575; his death, and burial beneath the rock of Golgotha, *ib.*; his pious reason for having refused coronation, 576.

Godfrey, prior, *see* Winchester.

Godiva, wife of Leofric earl of Hereford, 330.

Godwin, earl, his conduct in the Swedish expedition, 307; protects Emma on the death of Cnut, 319; charged with having been a party to the excecation of Aelfred, 321; compelled to deny it upon oath, *ib.*; his splendid offering to be restored to favour, *ib.*; on the death of Hardacnut, raises Eadward to the throne, 332; his daughter married to the king, 333; his quarrel with him, 336; is banished with his sons, 339; plunders the maritime towns, *ib.*; is prevented by fog from engaging with the royal fleet, 340; is reconciled to the king, *ib.*; procures the banishment of his Norman rivals, *ib.*; his wives and children, 342; Norman account of his death, 335.

Gornay, Hugh de, 399.

Goscelin, a monk of St. Bertin, visits many bishopricks and abbeys, and leaves monuments of his learning, 521; his great skill as a musician, and as a writer of the lives of saints, *ib.*; his vivid description of the 'Translation of St. Augustine,' 522.

Goths, 10.

Greek emperors, succession of, 549.

Greeks, their mode of expression, 44.

Gregory, St. projects the conversion of England, 63; is restrained from going personally by the affection of his fellow-citizens, 64.

Gregory VI, pope, his measures to repress the assassins of Rome, 344; his vindication of his conduct, 346; miracle at his death, 351.

Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), legendary account of, 441; raised to the papal chair, 444; excommunicates prelates who receive investiture from a lay hand, *ib.*; is deposed by the emperor Henry IV, 445; is reinstated by Robert Guiscard, 440; is again expelled from Rome, *ib.*; his death, and advice respecting his successor, 445; an anecdote of him and the emperor, *ib.*

Greatemesnil, Hugh de, one of Odo's conspiracy against William Rufus, plunders the neighbourhood of Leicester, 488.

Griffin, king of the Welsh, defeated and put to death, 330. 385.

Grimbald invited to England by Aelfred, and made abbot of his New Minster at Winchester, 188. 192.

Guader, or Waher, Ralph de, created earl of Norfolk and Suffolk by the Conqueror, 429; marries the daughter of William Fitz-Osberne, *ib.*; at his wedding feast induces many of the nobles to conspire against William, 430; is expelled the country by the royal officers, *ib.*; is followed by his wife, on her surrendering his castle, *ib.*

Guimund, bishop of Aversa, his eloquence, 462.

Guiscard, Robert, of Normandy, (surnamed Durand, 599,) his origin, 439; sets out with fifteen followers for Apulia, *ib.*; conquers the country, and becomes duke of Apulia and Calabria, *ib.*; makes his brothers, Richard, prince of Capua, and Roger, count of Sicily, *ib.*; gives Apulia to his son Roger, and crosses the Adriatic with his son Bohemond, *ib.*; obtains the surrender of Durazzo (Durachium) by a witty play upon his own surname and upon the name of the town, 599, and proceeds against the Greek emperor Alexius, 440; receives news of the deposition of Gregory VII, when he leaves Bohemond in command, and returns to Apulia, *ib.*; collects a force, and re-establishes the pope, *ib.*; is attacked by a Venetian fleet in returning to Greece,

ib.; sinks part, and puts the rest to flight, *ib.*; takes many cities from Alexius, *ib.*; is poisoned by his wife, at the instigation of the Greek, 441; his epitaph, *ib.*

Gunhilda, sister of Sweyn, put to death with her husband and son in the great massacre of the Danes, 289.

Gunhilda, daughter of Cnut, married to the emperor Henry III, 321; splendour of her departure from England, 322; accused of adultery, *ib.*; defended by a page, who kills her accuser, *ib.*; declines a reconciliation with her husband, and takes the veil, *ib.*

Guthferth, son of Sihtric, flies to Scotland from King Aethelstân, 212; escapes thence with Turfrith, 213; fails in his siege of York, *ib.*; is reconciled to the king, *ib.*; resumes the life of a pirate, *ib.*

Guthorm, the Dane, defeated by Aelfred, 181; is baptized, and appointed to the government of East Anglia and Northumbria, *ib.* 136; his tyranny and death, 182.

Guy, son of Renaud I. of Burgundy, brought up from childhood with the Conqueror, 393; receives from him the castles of Brienne and Vernon, *ib.*; quarrels with him, and ravages Normandy, *ib.*; is attacked and routed by the king of France, *ib.*; flies to Brienne, 394; is driven thence by William, and takes refuge in Burgundy, *ib.*; is banished by the duke his brother for conspiring against him, *ib.*

Guy, earl of Ponthieu, 384.

H.

Hair, English custom, in the reign of Henry I, of wearing it long, 693.

Hampstead-Finch, fountain of blood there, 506.

Harald Harfagra, of Norway, enters the Greek service in his youth, 436; violates a noble lady, and is exposed to a lion, which he strangles by main strength, *ib.*; is slain by Harold of England at the battle of Standford Bridge, 386. 436.

Hardacnut chosen king by general consent, 319; his kind reception of his brother Eadward, 320; imposes an onerous tribute on the country, *ib.*; burns and plunders Worcester for killing two of his tax-gatherers, *ib.*; his indignation against those who had blinded his half-brother Aelfred, 321; marries his sister Gunhilda to the emperor Henry III, 321; his death, 320; indignities offered to his body, *ib.*

Harding, an Englishman, (called also Stephen, 513,) brought up from boyhood as a monk at Sherborne, 511; travels to Scotland and France, and goes to Rome, 512; returns to Burgundy, and enters the monastery at Molesme, *ib.*; objects to some additions which had been made to the old monastic rule, *ib.*; the matter debated in several chapters, and referred to two learned monks for investigation, 513; on the refusal of the majority to relinquish the innovations, he secedes with the abbot and seventeen others, *ib.*; they arrive at Cisteaux, and build the famous monastery there, 514; severity of their rule, *ib.*; on the desertion of the abbot, and his return to Molesme, Harding is elected prior, 515; is afterwards raised to the rank of abbot, *ib.*; great increase of the order through his exertions, *ib.*; his great charity, and personal influence, *ib.*; high character of the Cistercians, 517.

Harold, king of Norway, sends presents to Aethelstân, 215.

Harold I. chosen king by the Danes and the citizens of London, 318; resisted by the Angles, *ib.*; banishes Queen Emma, 319; his death, *ib.*

Harold, son of Godwin, kills Rees and Griffin, and reduces their territories, 330; is banished by Eadward, 339; is restored to favour, *ib.*; is driven across the sea by a storm, and loaded with chains, 383; is released by Duke William, 384; joins him in his Breton expedition, *ib.*; espouses his daughter, and swears to assist him in ascending the English throne, *ib.*; at the death of the Confessor, seizes the crown for himself, 385; his excuses for breaking his oath, 408; gains the battle of Standford Bridge, 386; receives news of the landing

of William, 412; sends spies into the Norman camp, *ib.*; advice of his brother Guerth, 413; rejects the propositions of William, *ib.*; his conduct in the battle of Hastings, 416; his death, *ib.*; his body buried at Waltham, 420.

Harold, son of Harold II. of England, accompanies Magnus of Norway in an expedition to invade England, 506.

Hasting, a Danish chief, being defeated by Aelfred, ravages the coasts of France, 182.

Hastings, battle of, 387. 414.

Head, magical, formed by Gerbert, 283.

Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, 6. 546.

Helgrim, ambassador from Harold king of Norway to Aethelstân, 215.

Helias de la Fleche excites commotions in Normandy, 503; Rufus's treatment of him, *ib.*

Hengest, his origin, 11; arrives in Britain, *ib.*; obtains Kent, 12; his son and nephew arrive at Orkney, *ib.* and settle in Northumbria, 13; his slaughter of the British nobles, 15; his death, 16.

Henry I, born in England in the third year after the Conquest, 615; is, from being the only son royally born, more carefully instructed than the rest, *ib.*; permanent and useful character of his attainments, *ib.*; is knighted at Westminster by his father, 616; goes with him to Normandy, and is present at his death, *ib.*; receives his blessing, the inheritance of his mother, and a legacy of 3,000 marks, *ib.*; satisfies a knight who lays claim to the ground in which his father was to be buried, 461; through the influence of traducers, his affection to his brother Robert is returned by him with harshness, 616; is sent by him to Brittany, and deprived of his legacy in his absence, 617; makes no complaint on his return, *ib.*; his ill-treatment by both his brothers, *ib.*; seizes Avranches and some castles, and compels Robert to come to terms, *ib.*; assists him against Rufus on his invasion of Normandy, *ib.*; obtains the custody of one Conan, a traitor to Robert, and precipitates him into the Seine from the tower at Rouen, 618; his reason for his conduct, *ib.*, again experiences the ingratitude of Robert, who expels him from that town, *ib.*; resists Robert and Rufus in their attempts upon Maine, and is besieged by them at Mount St. Michael, 491; sends a message to Robert, to be permitted to obtain water, 493; goes to England with his brothers on the restoration of peace, *ib.*; is chosen king on the death of William Rufus, 618; puts a stop to the mal-practices introduced by Rufus and Ralph Flambard, 619; imprisons Flambard, and recalls Archbishop Anselm, *ib.*; is crowned at London, on the fourth day after his brother's death, *ib.*; the reason for this haste, *ib.*; marries Matilda, the orphan daughter of King Malcolm, *ib.*; gives his sister-in-law Mary in marriage to Eustace of Boulogne, 750; is deserted by most of the nobles on the return of Robert from the Crusade, 620; reproachful epithets bestowed by them upon him and his queen, *ib.*; assembles a large army to oppose the invasion of Robert, 621; is supported by Anselm and the clergy, and the whole of his Saxon subjects, *ib.*; goes personally through their ranks, and instructs them how to encounter the Normans, *ib.*; hostilities prevented through the mediation of the more prudent men, and a promise by the king of 3,000 marks to the duke, *ib.*; Henry refuses an annual pension to Robert of Flanders, which had been allowed him by William Rufus, 630; suppresses the rebellion of Robert de Belesme, and allows him to go into exile in Normandy, 622; refuses the earldom of Kent to his cousin William earl of Mortain, and proceeds against him at law for the recovery of some usurpations, 623; is annoyed by him and Robert de Belesme in Normandy, 623; summons his brother Robert to England, and reproves him for permitting their disorders, 624; on the complaint of the Normans, the exhortation of Pope Paschal, and at the instigation of Louis VI.

(632), he goes to Normandy to restore peace, 625; gains a victory over Duke Robert, the earl of Mortain, and Robert de Belesme at Tinchebrai on the fortieth anniversary of the Conquest, *ib.*; imprisons the earl of Mortain for life, 626, and commits his brother to honourable custody, 611; his severe laws, 626; gives his natural daughter in marriage to Alexander, the king of Scotland, 627; makes David (the younger son of King Malcolm, and the successor of Alexander,) an earl, and gives him a noble lady in marriage, *ib.*; plants a colony of Flemings between himself and the Welsh, 493. 628; is shot at with an arrow on his march against the Welsh, 628; represses their insurrection, and receives the children of their nobility as hostages, 629; his custom of hiring the Bretons as mercenaries, *ib.*; quarrels with Louis VI, in favour of Theobald earl of Blois, 633; restrains the ardour of his soldiers on the invasion of Normandy by Louis, *ib.*; defeats him in battle, and agrees to a peace, 634; marries his son William to a daughter of the earl of Anjou, and allows him to do homage to Louis for Normandy, *ib.*; in an interview with Calixtus, causes the pope to change his opinion with respect to his treatment of his brother Robert, *ib.*; causes the young sons of Robert de Meulant to dispute with the cardinals, 635; his great confidence in Roger bishop of Salisbury, whom he appoints administrator of public affairs, 637; devotion of the Irish kings to Henry, 638; he receives presents from Paul earl of Orkney, *ib.*; his menagerie at Woodstock, *ib.*; resort of foreigners to his kingdom, as to a haven of safety, 639; he is visited by Siward, king of Norway, on his way to the Holy Land, *ib.*; his abbey of Cluniac monks at Reading, 643; letter of Pope Paschal to him on the subject of investitures, 644; recalls Archbishop Anselm from his second exile, and agrees to surrender the contested right, 648; death of his wife Matilda, 651; loses his son William in a shipwreck, 653; marries Adela, daughter of the duke of Louvain, in consequence of his heir's death, 651. 654; marriage of his daughter Matilda with the Emperor Henry V, 655; changes the monastery of Ely into a bishoprick, and recompenses the bishop of Lincoln for his loss, 680; while residing in Normandy, receives news of the emperor's death, and sends an embassy for his daughter, 689; refuses her in marriage to some princes of Lorraine and Lombardy, *ib.*; returns with her to England, 690; calls a great council at London, in which he grants the county of Salop to his queen, and binds the prelates and nobles to admit the succession of his daughter, *ib.*; sends the empress to Normandy, to be espoused to Geoffrey, son of Foulques of Anjou, and follows shortly after to assist at their marriage, 692; supports the claims of Pope Innocent against those of Anaclete, 698; on his return to England, and on the arrival of his daughter, causes the nobles to renew their oath in a great council at Northampton, *ib.*; a great murrain among cattle in the thirty-first year of his reign, 699; his last voyage to Normandy followed by an eclipse and an earthquake, 700; his last illness there, and death, after three years' residence, 701; leaves all his possessions to his daughter, *ib.*; letter of Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, describing his religious end, *ib.*; his funeral, 702; his body brought to England, and buried in his monastery at Reading, 705; his immense treasures, *ib.*; recapitulation of his character, 640; his life attempted but once during his whole reign, 642; his person and habits, *ib.*

Henry (afterwards Henry II.) son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and the empress Maud, sent by his father to England under the care of his uncle, the earl of Gloucester, 765.

Henry I. of France appointed supervisor of the guardian of William of Normandy, 392; confers knighthood on the young duke, 393; restores order in Normandy on the

death of Duke Robert, *ib.*; is assisted by William against Geoffrey Martel, 394; advises the duke to be less reckless of his personal safety, *ib.*; contracts a coolness towards William, and assists his rebellious uncle, 397; invades Normandy, and is defeated in the battle of Mortemer, 398; makes peace, 399; again invades the country, and sustains a severe defeat, 400; his death, *ib.*

Henry I, emperor, 168. 215.

Henry III, emperor, marries the daughter of Cnut, 321; his warlike character, 322; legendary anecdotes respecting him, 323, *et seq.*; his epitaph, 328.

Henry IV, emperor, is excommunicated by Gregory VII. for persisting in giving investitures, 440; deposes the pope, and appoints Guibert in his place, *ib.*; flies, with the anti-pope, on the approach of Robert Guiscard, *ib.*; again deposes Gregory, *ib.*; is excommunicated by Pope Urban, 468; is compelled by his son to resign the empire, 467; favourable points in his character, 468.

Henry V, the reigning emperor of Germany when Malmesbury wrote his 'Gesta,' 101. 467; deposes his father, Henry IV, *ib.*; marries Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England, 655; quarrels with Pope Paschal respecting investitures, *ib.*; his cause espoused by the Citramontane prelates, *ib.*; marches to Rome, and seizes the person of the pope, 656; extorts from him a surrender of the disputed privilege, *ib.*; his oath to the pope, 657; receives the sacrament from him, in confirmation of their amity, 658; description of his solemn coronation, *ib.*; Paschal's grant to him, 659; receives the Roman crown from the patricians, 661; Paschal's grant annulled by the second Lateran council, 662; leads another army against Rome, 663; hears of the pope's death, and accelerates his march, that he may place Maurice Bourdin in the vacant chair, 664; names of the emperor's Roman partisans, 665; he expels Gelasius II. from Rome, and leaves Bourdin there as pope, 666; in an epistle to Calixtus II. he surrenders the contested right, 669; his three expeditions into Italy, 670; his death, 689.

Herbert, comte de Maine, 401.

Herbert Losinga (abbot of Ramsay) buys the bishoprick of Thetford, 517; his corrupt practices, *ib.*; epigrams on his simony, *ib.*; repents, and goes to Rome, 518; resigns his crosier and ring, but is directed to resume them, *ib.*; returns to England, and removes his see to Norwich, *ib.*; endows a monastery there from his private purse, *ib.*; institutes a Cluniac monastery at Thetford, 519; is excommunicated by Pope Paschal for misrepresenting his expressions on the question of investitures, 646; is restored through the intercession of King Henry, 648.

Hereford, Roger earl of, confined for life for his participation in the conspiracy of Ralph de Guader, his brother-in-law, 430.

Hide, monastery of, at Winton, burnt, 752.

'Hierarchia' of Dionysius the Areopagite translated out of Greek into Latin by Johannes Scottus, 190.

Hilda, 83; *see* Streneshalh.

Hildebert of Mans, his verses on Berengar, 463.

Hildebrand, *see* Gregory VII.

Hinguar, or Inguar, the Dane, ravages Northumbria and East Anglia, and murders St. Eadmund, 136. 365.

Hircanus digs gold from the sepulchre of David, 278.

Hlôðheri of Kent, unhappy character of his reign, 21; dies of a wound, 22.

Hors, his origin, 11; death of, 13.

Hospital erected at Jerusalem by Charlemagne, 563.

Hubba the Dane, brother of Hinguar, 365.

Hugh the Great, count of Paris, marries Eadhild, daughter of Eadweard the Elder, 198. 216.

Hugh the Great (brother of the French king) enters the service of the Conqueror, 439; arrives at Constantinople with a small retinue, and is made prisoner by Alexius, 535; is released on the arrival of the other

Crusaders, *ib.*; is one of the leaders who rescue Robert's division from the army of Solyman, 551; is present in the great sortie made from Antioch, 558; returns to France, on the plea of indisposition, 559; again arrives with the earl of Poitiers, 592; is slain in a battle with Solyman, and his body buried at Tarsus, *ib.*
Hugh, brother of Raymond the Crusader, slain by the Turks in the battle near Ramula, 594.
Hugh of Chester assists in repulsing an attempted invasion by Magnus of Norway, 506.
Hugh of Salop is slain in opposing an attempted invasion by Magnus of Norway, 506.
Hugh, abbot of Cluni, 441. 507.
Hunting, right of, restricted by William Rufus, 501.
Hydromel, a drink so called, 323.

I.

Ida of Northumbria, 61. 70; his noble descent, pure morals, and bravery, 62.
India, St. Thomas in, mission to, 187.
Indract, St. his martyrdom near Glastonbury, 37.
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Poitiers, Peter bishop of, excommunicates William of Poitiers for adultery, 671; is driven by him from his diocese, *ib.*; metrical eulogy of the bishop, 672.
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sortie made by the Franks, 559; is stationed opposite David's Tower at the siege of Jerusalem, 566; intercepts the fugitives from the city, and puts them to the sword, 568; accepts the surrender of five hundred Æthiops, and allows them to depart safely to Ascalon, *ib.*; receives the keys of Ascalon, on making oath not to deliver them to any other leader, 604; refuses them to the king of Jerusalem, *ib.* and returns them to the citizens, 605; leaves Jerusalem, and conquers Laodicea, *ib.*; while there, relieves the army of Baldwin on its march to Jerusalem, 578; returns to Constantinople, and cultivates the good graces of the emperor, 605; escapes, through his friendship, the misfortune of the earl of Poitiers, *ib.*; obtains the city of Tortosa, and makes a seven years' peace with the people of Tripoli, *ib.*; dies while preparing to proceed against them for an infraction of the truce, 606; his infant son sent home by the other chiefs, *ib.*

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Robert I. (of Normandy), father of the Conqueror, 304. 391; is said to have connived at his brother's death, 294; makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and leaves his son William in the guardianship of Count Gislebert, 392; dies in his return, and is buried at Nice in Bithynia, 295; his body removed thence by order of William, 460.

Robert II. of Normandy, eldest son of the Conqueror, surnamed Curthose — 'Curta Ocrea' — from his low stature, 607; refused Normandy by his father, 454. 607; endeavours to marry the daughter of an Italian marquess, 454; incites Philip of France against his father, *ib.*; wounds the latter in a battle near Gerborai, 434; loses England at his father's death, but obtains Normandy, 454; deprives Henry of his paternal legacy, and otherwise ill-treats him, 617; sends assistance to the rebels against William Rufus, 490; his duchy invaded by William, *ib.*; solicits aid from the king of France, *ib.*; makes peace with his brother on condition of his obtaining for him Maine, 491; they proceed together for that purpose, and are resisted by their brother Henry, *ib.*; they besiege Henry at Mount St. Michael, *ib.*; Robert's humanity to Henry during the extremities of the siege, 492; goes to England with both brothers on the restoration of peace, 493; mediates a peace between Malcolm and his brother William, 494; mortgages Normandy to William for 10,000 marks, 454. 500; goes on the Crusade with Robert of Flanders and Stephen of Blois, 536; mixed character of their followers, *ib.*; they meet Pope Urban at Lucca, *ib.* and

receive his blessing, 545; arrive in Calabria, where Robert of Flanders leaves his associates, *ib.*; they cross the sea in spring, and march to Constantinople, *ib.*; their losses on the march, *ib.*; they do homage to Alexius, and join the army before Nice, 550; Robert's division attacked on its march by Solyman, but rescued by Godfrey and his associates, 551; is one of the leaders in the sortie made from Antioch, 558, and kills the Turkish general Kerboga, 608; is present at the storming of Jerusalem, 568; forces the centre of the Turkish army in the battle of Ascalon, 571; refuses the crown of Jerusalem, 608; marries in Apulia as he returns home, 609; takes possession of his duchy, 454. 620; loses his wife while giving birth to his son William, 609; dissipates the sum given as her dowry, wherewith he was to have redeemed Normandy, *ib.*; goes to England with the view of wresting the kingdom from Henry, *ib.* 621; is reconciled to his brother on his promise of a yearly pension of 3,000 marks, 609. 621; gives up his pension to the queen in the following year, 610. 621; becomes despised by the Normans for his easy disposition, 610; omits, through fear, to repress the disorders of the earl of Mortain and Robert de Belesme, 624; is summoned to England by Henry, and reproved for his indolence, *ib.*; is despoiled by him of the greater part of Normandy, 610; is denied aid by the king of France and the earl of Flanders, 611; stakes his fortune on a battle, and is defeated and made prisoner at Tinchebrai, *ib.* 625; is committed to honourable custody for life by his brother Henry, 611.

Robert of Jumiéges invited to England by the Confessor, 334; becomes archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.*; his conduct oppositely described by historians, 335; anticipates his banishment, and appeals to Rome, 340; dies at Jumiéges on his return, *ib.*

Robert, bishop of Chester, seizes the rich monastery at Coventry, 520, and removes his see thither, 517; plunders that church, and allows the roof to go to ruin, 521; reduces the diet of the monks, allows them to relax their rule, and confines their reading to the vulgar literature, *ib.*; violates the canons by ordering his body to be buried at Coventry, instead of at his proper see, *ib.*

Robert, comte d'Aux, 399.

Robert earl of Mortain, brother of the Conqueror, his dulness of intellect, 456.

Robert of Flanders (son of Robert le Frison) goes on the Crusade with Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois, 536; leaves his companions in Calabria, 545; refuses homage to Alexius, 550; is one of the leaders in the great sortie from Antioch, 558; is present at the taking of Jerusalem, 568; is slain in a tournament on his return, 433.

Robert, son of Godwin, goes with Eadgar Aetheling to the Holy Land, 425; arrives there during the siege of Rama, *ib.*; cuts a passage through the besiegers, and rescues King Baldwin, *ib.*; is overpowered, and led in chains to Babylon, *ib.*; refuses to renounce his faith, and is shot with arrows in the market-place, *ib.*

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Roger, son of Richard, succeeds Tancred as prince of Antioch, 601; is taken prisoner by the Turks, *ib.*; strikes off the head of their leader, on his approaching to receive his sword, *ib.*; is put to death by the bystanders, *ib.*

Roger, son of Robert Guiscard, called 'Marsupium' by his father on account of his love of money, 598; receives Apulia from his father, 439. 598.

Rolland, the song of, sung by William the Conqueror at the battle of Hastings, 415.

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Rouen, William archbishop of, marries Philip of France to his mistress the countess of Anjou, 632; is in consequence suspended for many years, *ib.*; is restored through the influence of Archbishop Anselm, *ib.*

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St. Pancras at Lewes, Lanzo prior of, raises the character of his monastery, 674; minute account of his last illness and death, 675.
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Saints, enumeration of, whose bodies lie at Rome, 539–544; of those buried at Constantinople, 550.
Salisbury, Roger bishop of, (a privy councillor of Henry I.) was manager of the king's affairs before he came to the throne, 636; is from his diligence in his diocese appointed administrator of the kingdom, *ib.*; refuses to undertake the office, until commanded by the archbishop and the pope, *ib.*; his honest execution of his office during the king's long absences in Normandy, *ib.*; his munificence and taste in ecclesiastical structures, *ib.*; takes an oath to admit the succession of the empress Maud, 692; was heard frequently by Malmesbury to say, that he was released from his oath through an infraction of its conditions by the king, *ib.*; transfers his allegiance to King Stephen, 703; is present at his coronation, 704; fortifies and builds castles, 715; jealousy of the nobles, who complain of him to the king, 716; fatal affray at Oxford between his and his nephew's servants and those of Alan earl of Brittany, 717; is forced by Stephen to surrender his castles, as a satisfaction for the infraction of his peace, *ib.*; charges made against him in the council at Winchester by Aubrey de Vere, 721; his reply, 722; his death, 727; recapitulation of his principal acts, especially of his invasions of monastic property, *ib.*
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Sigehard and Suaebraed reign jointly in Essex, 139.
Sigeric, or Sirîc, archbishop of Canterbury, advises buying off the Danes, 263.
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Siward, earl, slays Macbeoth of Scotland, 330; raises Malcolm of Cumbria to the throne in his stead, *ib.*; is present in a council at Gloucester, 338.
Siward, one of the reigning kings of Norway when Malmesbury wrote his 'Gesta,' 437; winters in England on his way to the Holy Land, and is lavish in his donations to the churches, 639; overawes the Balearic Isles on his way, *ib.*; loses one ship on the passage, *ib.*; arrives at Jerusalem, and subdues Tyre and Sidon, *ib.*; goes to Constantinople, and places an ornamented ship as a trophy on the top of the church of St. Sophia, 640; on a great mortality among his men, orders wine to be drunk sparingly, and diluted with water, *ib.*; adopts this precaution from observing the result of an experiment performed with it upon a pig's liver, which was confirmed by a dissection of a human body, *ib.*; his device to escape from the emperor, who wished to detain him, *ib.*
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seizes the castle there, 766; burns also the city of Oxford, and besieges the empress in the castle, *ib.*; on her escape from the place, he receives the submission of the garrison, and permits them to return home, 769.
Stephen, earl of Blois, marries a daughter of the Conqueror, 456; goes to the Holy Land with Robert of Normandy, 536; returns home, 571; goes again, with the earl of Poitiers, 592; falls in the battle near Ramula, 593. 633.
Stephen, earl of Burgundy, accompanies the earl of Poitiers in his expedition to the Holy Land, 592; falls in the unfortunate battle at Ramula, 593.
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Stigand obtrudes himself unjustly upon the see of Canterbury, and continues to retain with it his see of Winchester, 340; bribes the anti-pope Benedict to send him a pall, 341; is degraded, and confined for life, *ib.* 449; his insatiable avarice, *ib.*; laughs at the prophecy of the Confessor, 381.
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Swithune, (St.) bishop of Winchester, an adviser of King Aetheluulf, 151.
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T.

Tancred, nephew of Bohemond I, leaves the army with a few companions, and visits Bethlehem, 560; they are attacked on their way to Jerusalem, and put their assailants to flight, 561; on the capture of the city, takes some valuables from Solomon's Temple, but repents, and makes restitution, 569; his eulogy, 571; obtains Laodicea on the departure of Raymond, 605; governs Antioch during the captivity of his uncle, 581; affords a refuge to the earl of Poitiers, 592; restores Antioch to his uncle, 600; marries a French princess, *ib.*; succeeds his uncle as prince of Antioch, 601; his death, *ib.*
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Theobald, count of Blois, compelled by Geoffrey Martel to renounce for ever the city of Tours, 395.
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Tidferht, bishop of Dunwich, 119.
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Tirel, Walter, one of the attendants of William Rufus to his last chase, 508; accidentally kills the king with an arrow, aimed at a passing

stag, 509; mounts his horse, and effects his escape, *ib.*
Tosti, son of Godwin, made earl of Northumbria, 343; expelled by the inhabitants, *ib.*; passes over into Flanders, *ib.*; returns to the Humber, and ravages the coast, 386; is repulsed by Earls Eadwin and Morcar, *ib.*; joins Harald Harfagra, and is slain with him at the battle of Standford Bridge, *ib.*; his body recognised by a wart between the shoulders, and buried at York, 426.
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